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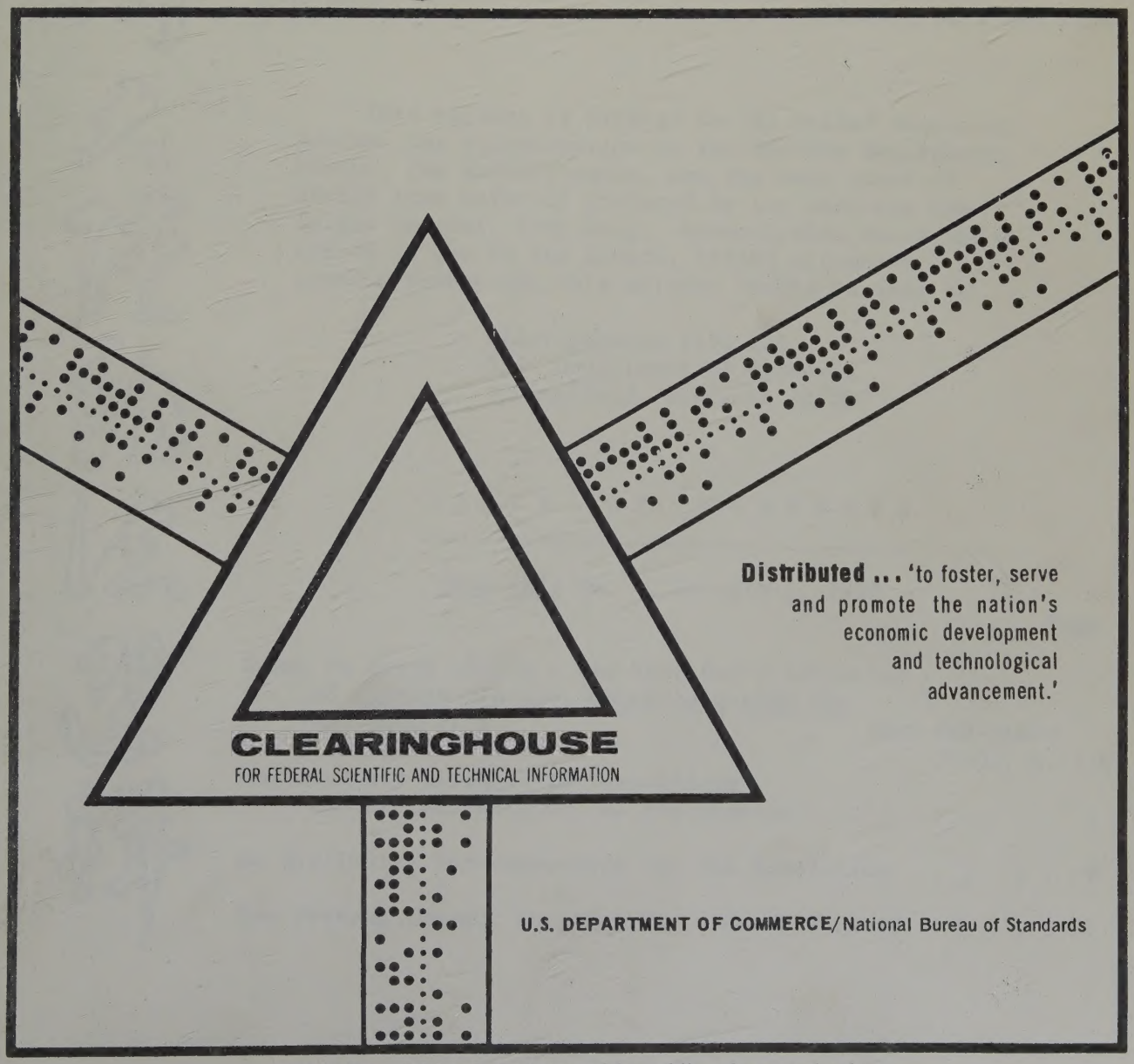
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Unless otherwise indicated, these materials are full translations of articles appearing in Chinese Communist periodicals.

Continuously Struggle to Consolidate the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

by

CCP Committee of Peking Hsin Hua Printing House

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 1, January 1, 1970)

The great year 1970 has arrived. At the beginning of the new year, imbued with the most profound proletarian feelings, we wholeheartedly wish our great leader Chairman Mao long, long life.

The year 1969 was one in which the great proletarian cultural revolution continued to win great victories. Under the intimate concern of our great leader Chairman Mao and with the enthusiastic help of PLA 8341 unit--close friends sent by Chairman Mao--this printing house, just as other parts of China, has undergone drastic changes.

On the basis of the developing revolutionary mass criticism movement and the task of purifying the class ranks, we carried out mass Party-conslidation and Party-building work in compliance with Chairman Mao's "50-character" guiding principle for Party building.

Proceeding from ideological consolidation, we have re-educated the masses of Party members in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought, regarded Party consolidation and Party building as a process of raising our awareness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, enhanced our consciousness of the need to continue the revolution, increased the Party spirit of the proletariat, and further overcome bourgeois factionalism, sectarianism, mountain-stronghold mentality, and anarchism.

While "getting rid of the waste," the re-education of Party members who had made mistakes was strengthened. Their cases and their historical background were analyzed in an all-round way and according to the dialectic principle. Emphasis was placed on conducting education among them in the struggle between the two lines.

Based on the principle of positive prudence, we took in fresh blood at the right time. At the same time, a group of outstanding Party members were selected for the various jobs in the leading groups of the Party organizations at all levels. Through repeated discussions by the whole body of Party members and the masses in all workshops of the printing house, the leading group of the Party branch was elected by the Party members. Through repeated discussions and consultations, the new Party committee was elected.

In accordance with the new Party constitution, the relationship between the Party committee and the revolutionary committee is one between the leader and the led. With Party organizations at all levels serving as

the fighting commands to give prominence to proletarian politics and to grasp revolution and promote production, the Party's unified leadership was preliminarily implemented.

The masses of revolutionary workers consciously struggled against the class enemies and bourgeois "self-interest" on their own part, as well as against technical difficulties. They tempered their thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death. They greatly raised their awareness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and heightened their political enthusiasm to an unprecedented extent.

The revolution spurred production and ideas were turned into reality. The revolutionary workers throughout the printing house came to regard the printing of Chairman Mao's red-covered treasured books and his brilliant portraits as their most glorious task, and fought the battle at the side of their machine day and night.

The comrades magnanimously said: "Bats fear the sun most. Imperialism, revisionism, and reaction fear invincible Mao Tsetung thought most. We must print more of Chairman Mao's red-covered treasured books, print them as fast as we can, and print them well. We must produce still more spiritual atomic bombs, and deal blows to imperialism, revisionism, and reaction with actual deeds."

During the past year we printed 4.3 million sets of Chairman Mao's works, three times as many as in the three years from 1963 to 1965. We printed 1,612 billion brilliant portraits of Chairman Mao in various sizes, 54 times the number printed in the three years from 1963 to 1965.

These achievements can only be attributed to our great leader Chairman Mao, to the invincible Mao Tsetung thought, and to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Under the new situation in the thoroughgoing development of struggle-criticism-transformation, what kind of attitude should one take towards his achievements in work? Should he call a halt, or should he regard these achievements as only the starting point from which to continue the advance. This is an important question which involves a person's ability to lead the masses of Party members and workers in continuing the revolution.

After passing several stages of struggle-criticism-transformation, some people in our printing house began to feel that it was time to take a rest. They held that through criticism and the assistance of the masses, the cadres who had committed mistakes had been liberated and had come to their senses, and the cases of exposed renegades, special agents, and counter-revolutionary elements had been decided and taken care of. They maintained: administrative work has been streamlined and simplified, Party organizations have been consolidated, and new Party committees established. The remaining

problems will amount to no more than changing the system a little and doing a good job in production.

Although this represented the feelings of only some of the people, it was, nevertheless, an indication of the remnant pernicious influence of the theory of "the dying out of class struggle" spread by the renegade, traitor, and scab Liu Shao-ch'i. It was a stumbling block on the path of continuing the revolution.

Our great leader Chairman Mao points out: "We have won great victory. But, the defeated class will still struggle, these people are still around and this class still exists. Therefore, we cannot speak of final victory. Not even for decades. We must not lose our vigilance."

If we only see the achievements we have already attained and the favorable situation without noticing the new trends in class struggle, our great achievements in the great proletarian cultural revolution could be damaged, this will harm the further consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In order to continue the revolution, we organized Party members and the masses to repeatedly study Chairman Mao's great teaching: "Unite for the purpose of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. This must be realized in every factory, village, office, and school."

All of us realized that under the new situation the class struggle may change in form, but the true nature of the class enemies' attack against the proletariat will remain unchanged. Therefore, the key to continuing the revolution is still the issue of further consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The actual situation of class struggle in our printing house indicated that classes, class contradictions, and class struggle still existed even today when great victories were being won in the great proletarian cultural revolution, and that the struggle between the capitalist road and the socialist road was still going on.

Under the new situation, a handful of class enemies had hidden themselves even better, and had become even trickier. Their tactics were more vicious than ever.

When Party policies were being carried out, some of them tried to portray themselves as victims of the policies in an attempt to reverse the correct verdicts passed on them. Some of them tried to fan up and utilize anarchism in order to undermine revolutionary centralism and unification.

Some of them used the consolidation of organizations, recruitment of Party members, and other opportunities to stir up bourgeois factionalism and undermine the new-born proletarian political power. When unreasonable

rules and regulations were changed, some of them sought to promote counter-revolutionary economism in a vain attempt to lead a number of people onto the evil path of seeking material gains.

These facts showed us that we should, by no means, take things easy and not worry. The handful of class enemies had not relaxed their offensive against the proletariat just because of our victories.

In his "50-character" principle of Party consolidation and Party building, Chairman Mao particularly stressed that the Party organizations should be able to lead the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in struggle against the class enemy. This is extremely important.

In order to continue the revolution, it is necessary to take a firm hold of class struggle and fight a protracted war in the struggle against the enemy.

After reaching a certain stage in our work of purifying the class ranks, our printing house, in an effort to ferret out the handful of well-hidden class enemies, persisted in the "four never stops"--never stop revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, never stop psychological warfare on policy, never stop mobilizing the masses to accuse and unmask class enemies, and never stop investigation and study.

As we persisted in the protracted war in our struggle against the enemy and firmly implemented the series of Chairman Mao's proletarian policies, we once again cleared out a handful of renegades, special agents, and counter-revolutionaries on the basis of our victories in purifying the class ranks, and further isolated and dealt blows to the most stubborn class enemies.

The class struggle will inevitably be reflected in the minds of the people. Thus, it is necessary to firmly grasp class struggle in the realm of ideology and persistently fight a protracted war to combat self-interest and repudiate revisionism, while waging the struggle against the enemy.

Just as Chairman Mao points out, "It will take a fairly long period of time to decide the issue in the political and ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism. Decades will not do. It will probably take one hundred years to several hundred years to do so."

As the great proletarian cultural revolution develops in depth, an important tactic the class enemies will adopt in attacking the proletariat will be to exploit the ideological weakness of some of our comrades, particularly some of our younger comrades. The class enemies will attempt to make inroads among them by corroding them with their poison. On the surface this will be carried out quietly and will not be noticed. However, behind the scenes there will be a fierce and complex class struggle.

If we fail to grasp the class struggle in the ideological sphere, or fail to use Mao Tsetung thought to prevail over the bourgeoisie and all ideas of the exploiting classes, we run the risk of having our political power usurped once again by the bourgeoisie.

We have vigorously grasped revolutionary mass criticism in view of the outstanding problems of class struggle in the ideological sphere that appeared during different periods in order to concentrate our efforts and time on fighting an offensive war and a war of annihilation. In one period, anarchism emerged to some extent in our printing house, and some evil winds also found some constant expressions here. With this situation in view, we aroused all workers and dependents to carry out a deep-going criticism against the anarchist trend of thought. With the help and education of the masses, some people afflicted with this reactionary trend of thought quickly enhanced their awareness and strengthened their sense of organization and discipline.

Reflected in the class struggle in the ideological sphere are the contradictions among the people that are manifested in various forms such as world outlook, political thinking, work, and life in general. Our primary approach toward solving this problem is to persist in positive education, carry out meticulous ideological and political work, and emphasize the conscious remolding of one's own world outlook.

One worker who was beset with selfish ideas wanted to show off his skill after being assigned a new task. As his mind went astray, he performed his work badly--many tiny pits appeared in the copper plate on which he was working. The workshop's leadership then proceeded to study Chairman Mao's works together with him in order to enable him to see his error. In addition, it mobilized workers on the same shift to struggle throughout the night and get the copper plate ground smooth. Deeply impressed by this, the worker consciously examined his error. He said: "What you have ground out were not only the tiny pits in the plate, but more importantly, the revisionist poisonous influence in my mind also."

In handling such contradictions among the people, we have persistently carried out criticism whenever erroneous ideas were found, and have waged struggles wherever evil winds were blowing, "Learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones, cure the sickness to save the patient." We have been severe in our criticism, but in handling the cases we have been lenient. We have made a distinction between the villains who have seriously disrupted social security and those people who only occasionally followed the villains in committing wrongs; between class enemies who have deliberately sabotaged production and those who have caused accidents owing to such reasons as a poor sense of responsibility and the failure to observe operational procedures; between those persons who have consistently persisted in their reactionary position to viciously attack the socialist system and those who have made some incorrect statements due to their poorly remolded world outlook; and between those who have degenerated

without showing a willingness to repent despite repeated education and those who have committed common errors in their style of living.

As a result of this strict distinction between the two different kinds of contradictions, the scope of education has been widened, the majority has been united, all those who can be educated have been educated, and all positive factors that can be mobilized have been mobilized.

Chairman Mao has instructed us: "One of our current important tasks on the ideological front is to unfold criticism of revisionism." Revolutionary mass criticism is the sharp weapon in our struggle against the various wrong tendencies and ideas within the revolutionary ranks, and a strong motive force propelling our work in the various fields, as well as a sharp weapon in our struggle against the class enemies. Without engaging in revolutionary mass criticism, we will be unable to continue the revolution.

While accomplishing our various tasks, we have always persisted in fighting a protracted war in the revolutionary mass criticism movement to thoroughly eliminate the poisonous influence of such counter-revolutionary revisionism pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i as his sinister "Six Theories," as well as his fallacies of "material incentives," "a factory must be run by experts," and "foreign slavishness." We have achieved the following three grasps in carrying out revolutionary mass criticism.

Closely following the new trends of class struggle to repeatedly launch revolutionary mass criticism.

For a while some of the cadres and masses relaxed their revolutionary vigilance and become complacent. We therefore selected the case of a villain who deliberately created an accident involving the machinery in order to sabotage production and use him as a living example to carry out criticism and struggle, linking this with Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of the dying out of class struggle." The more we criticized, the deeper our hatred for the class enemies and the higher our revolutionary vigilance become.

Closely grasping the new characteristics of class struggle in the ideological sphere to launch a profound mass criticism.

There are relatively more young workers than older ones in our printing house. They account for one fourth of the total number of workers. Nurtured by Mao Tsetung thought and guided and assisted by the vetaran workers, these young workers have made rapid progress politically since they joined the printing house. However, because they have not experienced the sufferings in the old society, many of them "were not good at comparing the old China with the New China." In spite of the fact that they have joined the ranks of workers and donned their attire, these young workers still have not remolded their world outlook well. It is often these very people for whom the bourgeoisie would fight fiercely against the proletariat in order to win them over.

One of the young workers has gone astray and pursued the bourgeois style of living because in the past years he has been reading a great many feudalist, bourgeois, and revisionist novels and has been very seriously poisoned. From the case of this young worker we have seen that the youth are the victims and the root of their trouble is in the person of Liu Shao-ch'i. Therefore, we have vigorously criticized Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of the dying out of class struggle." Some of us have denounced the bourgeois ideas which have poisoned them, and have decided with determination to correct their wrongs.

Closely grasping the problems that occur in the area of production to unfold mass criticism in good time.

For a period of time lower-grade rejects constantly appeared in our stereotype workshop. What was the cause? We conducted an investigation. We found that as the worker comrades of many presses had taken "the three constantly-read articles" as their maxim and made strict demands on themselves, the quality of printing had always been very good. One press, however, rejected nearly 5,000 sheets in printing a total of 200,000 sheets. Why the different results from the same kind of presses? We aroused the masses to analyze the situation. We found out that the key was the fact that the poisonous influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's ideas of "placing cash awards in command" and "material incentives" had not been thoroughly eradicated. The attitude that "whether you do a good job or not does not matter as you can only get so much money every month after all" is precisely an example of such poisonous influence. We therefore held an on-the-spot criticism meeting to criticize the poisonous influence of counter-revolutionary revisionism. This has enabled everyone to realize that problems that exist in the area of production are a reflection of class struggle as well. Accidents and mistakes have thus been quickly overcome and quality has improved.

As we look forward to 1970, it will be a year in which still greater victories will be won in socialist revolution and socialist construction in China. It will be a year in which still greater victories will be won by the world's revolutionary people in the struggle to oppose US imperialism and soviet revisionism. Our spirits bound with unlimited confidence.

The Party committee and all revolutionary workers in our printing house are determined to still more closely rally around the Party's Central Committee with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice Chairman Lin as its deputy leader in the coming year. We will go a step further to carry through Chairman Mao's great strategic plan of "being prepared against war, being prepared against natural disasters, and doing everything for the people," and launch the mass movement of creative study and application of Mao Tsetung thought more extensively to strengthen Party-building and do a good job in revolutionizing the thinking of the leading group. We definitely will continue to advance courageously on the road of continuing the revolution. We will display the highest political enthusiasm and the

greatest revolutionary drive to print Chairman Mao's brilliant works and pictures well, and devote all our energy to disseminating invincible Mao Tsetung thought.

*

Hung-ch'i Editor's Note :

In accordance with Chairman Mao's thought of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, this article regards achievements as the starting point to continue our advance, and puts forward for our reference the "three grasps" in persistently developing the revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, the "four never stops" in taking firm hold of the struggle against the enemy, and the persistent adherence of the policy of "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and cure the sickness to save the patient" in dealing with contradictions among the people.

* * *

No Difficulty Insurmountable for the Revolution

--an investigation report on how the Oil and Fat Plant of Kirin municipality was started in the hard way on the basis of self-reliance

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 1, January 1, 1970)

Hung-ch'i Editor's Note:

The deeds of the Oil and Fat Plant of Kirin municipality are a splendid paean with which to glorify the running of a plant through diligence and frugality, self-reliance and arduous struggle. From this plant, people can see the inexhaustible creative force of the great Chinese people armed with the Mao Tsetung thought. Chairman Mao points out: "The wealth of society is created by the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. If they take their destiny into their own hands, follow the Marxist-Leninist line and take an active attitude in solving problems instead of evading them, there will be no difficulty in the world which they cannot overcome." This is the fountainhead of our victory and the orientation we should follow.

*

The Oil and Fat Plant of Kirin municipality was born amidst the exceedingly great east wind of the great leap forward. By raising the sum of 25 yüan for use as capital and by making revolution with three big pots, Liu Sheng, a communist and a disabled soldier of special grade, led 12 dependents of martyrs and the army and inhabitants in the neighborhood to start and run a socialist enterprise that was full of vigor and vitality and enjoyed prosperity.

The great leader Chairman Mao taught: "On what basis should our policy rest? It should rest on our own strength, and that means regeneration through one's own efforts." The revolutionary masses of this plant wholeheartedly heeded what Chairman Mao said, acted according to Chairman Mao's instruction, relied on their own efforts, started the enterprise the hard way, and carried out production for the revolution with the revolutionary spirit. In doing this, needless to say, they underwent hardships and deprivations, difficulties and setbacks, and entertained no foreign-slave philosophy and no mentality of creeping along at a snail's pace.

The workers declared: "Working for the revolution, there is no insurmountable difficulty, there is no unbearable hardship and there is no time for complacency." During the great proletarian cultural revolution, they thoroughly criticized and repudiated renegade, traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and caused Chairman Mao's great thought on "independence and self-reliance" to strike root deep among the revolutionary masses of the whole plant.

They relied on the superiority of the revolutionary spirit of the working class to create a basic change in the look of the plant. Now employing 218 people, the plant, proceeding from producing one variety of products, is now capable of producing more than 70 varieties of different specifications. From refining waste oil it has led itself to mass producing domestic and international products of advanced standards. The total output in 1969 amounted to 3.4 million yUan, or 52.7 percent higher than its output in 1966, and labor productivity rose by 64.7 percent. Over the course of 12 years, the aggregate amount of profit surrendered to the state is equivalent to 40 times the aggregate investment sunk by the state in various years.

Relying on One's Own Efforts to Start an Enterprise the Hard Way

When the plant was first set up, there were neither factory premises, nor equipment, nor capital, nor technical knowledge. They had only a pair of empty hands and were poor and blank. How could the plant be set up under such circumstances? Someone stood on one side and shook his head, saying: "One man is disabled and all the others are women. How could these 12 and a half persons run a factory?" Liu Sheng, a disabled soldier seriously wounded and having lost his two hands and two legs during the resist-US, aid-Korea war, firmly replied: "I must take the revolutionary road and sail the boat against the wind although I have lost my legs and hands. Though I have only half of my body left, I am no half-baked revolutionary! Women must also add bricks and tiles for building socialism."

Although conditions of this or that kind were not available, yet there were people who wanted to make revolution, and this was the most fundamental condition. They scraped together whatever material they could find and discussed what they should do. They built with broken mats and wooden planks a matshed which could not keep out winds and rains. They collected some bricks and rocks to build a stove, and went to big factories to collect waste oil for use as raw material. The flame of making revolution with three big pots was thus kindled. Because there was too little capital, even these three big pots ran out of fuel in a few days. Should they approach the state for money? The workers declared: "We cannot pull out the fire from under the big pots for refining oil in our small pots." They brought firewood from their homes and went outside to pick cinder. Braving difficulties, they set their teeth and went ahead.

In 1961, renegade, traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i whipped up the evil wind of "closure, suspension, merging and transfer" on the industrial front. One capitalist roader of the former Provincial Committee came to the Oil and Fat Plant and remarked with contempt: "What can be done with such a factory?" Not long afterward, he cut away their raw material and asked them to dismount. The workers indignantly declared: "Why are we not allowed to produce things essential to the state? We have to produce what socialism needs." They devised all ways and means to overcome difficulties and persisted in operating the plant.

In 1962, the plant was changed into a locally-administered state enterprise. Some people thought that since raw material was now supplied and products were marketed by the state, profits and losses were the responsibility of the state and the trouble was over. Under these circumstances, should they continue to rely on their own strength or should they approach the state for everything? This involved the question of whether or not they could continue with their advance along the road of "independence and self reliance."

The plant had to build a workshop for reprocessing waste oil, and some comrades put forward a plan that called on the state to invest the sum of 110,000 yüan. This plan brought about a big debate and the majority of the workers voiced their disagreement. They declared: "We would rather overcome all difficulties ourselves than to give the state any additional burden." "Socialism cannot be obtained by waiting or by stretching out our hands; it must be created with our hands." The workers and cadres of the plant got going together. They cut up the old equipment to rig up the walls of the boilers and the stoves, welded angled steel and steel pipes of different specifications into brackets, made three cleaning boilers and one oil and water separator, and installed two distillers and two cooling towers. They took a hand in beating out with a sledge-hammer an iron chimney 28 meters high. Because they had not the power press and dies for pressing out the saucer-shaped bottom of the cleaning boiler and it was expensive to process it elsewhere, the machinists dug a big pit in the shape of the bottom of the boiler on the frozen ground, put a red-hot steel plate over the pit and hit it with a big wooden hammer. After 40 hours of fighting and breaking 48 wooden hammers, they beat out the bottom for the two boilers. With the spirit of the ants gnawing at the bone, they built a reprocessing workshop capable of handling 2,500 tons of waste oil without approaching the state for investment.

The great proletarian cultural revolution further extended and glorified the spirit of self-reliance. Over the course of three years, they designed and built themselves 4,120 square meters of factory building and warehouses, equivalent to one and half times the built-on area of the previous nine years. With the support and aid of fraternal factories, they built and reshaped themselves 68 units of main equipment and got going in installing all the equipment, thus saving a good deal of capital and steel for the state.

Taking the road of "independence and self-reliance," this plant, in the struggle to overcome difficulties, planted its feet on doing things itself, on presently available conditions and on utilizing waste and old material. It brought into play the hard-working style of the Old 8th Route Army, the spirit of saving every cent and every drop of oil, the heroic bearing to disdain all difficulties. The workers said that the admirable spirit, the dependable method and the correct road rested in its planting its feet on three things and bringing three things into play.

The Need of the Revolution Is the Direction in the Development of Production

"Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people." This is Chairman Mao's great strategic thought, the whole situation of the revolution. Proceeding from this whole situation, the Oil and Fat Plant produced what the revolution needed, thus closely linking production with the building of socialism and the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's great policy of "taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor," this plant energetically served agriculture. It sent people to conduct investigation in the countryside, and knowing that it was urgently in need of cart oil, it devised ways to produce it. In the beginning, the production of cart oil incurred the loss of several ten yüan per ton. The workers declared: "In view of Chairman Mao's call for supporting and aiding agriculture, whether or not cart oil is produced is not a question of profit or loss, but one of what political direction is adhered to. We must go ahead, and the loss can be solved."

Since no unprofitable business could be undertaken, a handful of capitalist roaders of the former Municipal Committee forced the Oil and Fat Plant to suspend the production of cart oil. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the workers thoroughly criticized and repudiated Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist contraband "profit in command", and assumed the task of producing cart oil needed by the countryside in the whole country. They brought proletarian politics to the fore, strengthened control, lowered costs and quickly headed away from operation at a loss. At present, the cost per ton has dropped from 530 yüan to 350 yüan, and such oil is selling at a much lower price, much to the welcome of the poor and lower-middle peasants.

They took the trouble to carry out production on a small scale and they firmly produced what was needed by the revolution. A power plant needed a small quantity of railway oil in order to scale a technical pinnacle. Knowing this, the workers of the Oil and Fat Plant at once accepted this task so as to heighten the fighting will of the proletariat and to do away with the vain attempt of revisionism to get at our throat on this question. They overcame many difficulties and successfully experimented with the manufacture of the oil in a short time, thus helping the power plant solve its difficulties.

They consciously considered the need of the whole and regarded as urgent what the revolution regarded as urgent and what was needed to get prepared against war. In 1969, a leading member of the revolutionary committee of this plant went to a factory in the vicinity in order to establish close links with it in work. When he was on the telephone, he saw on the notice board of that factory the words: "Send an urgent telegram to Wusih for immediate shipment of clear cutting oil." After he went back to his plant, he discussed the matter with the workers. He was of the view

since the two plants were separated by one street only, it was disadvantageous to making preparations against war if that factory had to ship its urgently needed oil from a place several thousand li away. This plant at once experimented with the manufacture of such oil, and after a number of experiments,the oil was soon manufactured and sent to the other factory. It also undertook on its own initiative the task of indefinitely supplying the other factory with such oil.

In the course of carrying out to the letter the various combat tasks advanced by the 9th National Congress of the Party, learning that a relevant unit was attacking the trial manufacture of an important product essential to preparedness against war with all ways and means, this plant sent men of its own accord to take part in the battle. Meanwhile, an attacking unit was organized within the plant, and through displaying the revolutionary spirit of seizing the day and seizing the hour, this plant overcame one difficulty after another, and very soon the product was successfully trial manufactured. According to the appraisal of the unit concerned, this product was completely in correspondence with the demand, and a contribution was thus made toward strengthening preparedness against war.

Save Every Copper for the Revolution

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches: "Save every copper for the war and the revolutionary cause." Saving every drop of oil, every lump of coal, every unit of electricity and every cent for the revolution has been the fine tradition of the Oil and Fat Plant. Over the course of 12 years, the plant has proceeded from a poor plant to a rich one, but this tradition has never changed. According to the workers, leading a frugal life can make one more and more revolutionary.

One year, the Oil and Fat Plant was processing a consignment of wood oil for the Municipal Food Bureau. The workers took good care of every drop of oil in the course of processing the wood oil. They wiped the oil off the floor with their hands, boiled out the oil on the cleaning cloth and removed with a spoon the oil at the bottom of the cylinder. Many a little makes a mickle. Because of stronger control and lower consumption, they saved 20 tons of wood oil worth 40,000 yüan. Someone suggested that the oil saved be retained to solve the difficulties of the plant. This was both rational and legal. The veteran workers, however, disagreed. They said: "It is our duty to increase production through economy. To keep what has been saved for one's own use is rational only to departmentalism and to private ownership." The workers of the Oil and Fat Plant resolutely handed over the 20 tons of wood oil to the state.

With the plant operating on a larger scale and the number of workers increased, the revolutionary committee of the plant voted in the beginning of 1969 to expend the sum of 160,000 yüan accumulated by the plant on building a hostel and a conference room. When work was about to begin, the 9th National Congress of the Party was successfully convened. At the study course in Mao Tsetung thought for carrying out the spirit of

the 9th Congress to the letter in the plant, Chairman Liu Sheng of the Revolutionary Committee suggested that the building of the hostel and the conference room be postponed for the time being, that the sum of 160,000 yüan be expended on building another high-temperature lubricating oil workshop, and that the sum of 370,000 yüan and the 100 tons of steel which the state had agreed to allocate for the building of this workshop be saved. This suggestion aroused the great attention of the workers and an enthusiastic discussion was carried out. According to the actual conditions of this plant, it was essential to build the hostel and the conference room. However, when they thought of Chairman Mao's great teaching, "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people," they held that money should be expended to advantage.. As a result, neither the hostel and the conference room nor a new high-temperature lubricating oil plant were built, and the sum of 160,000 yüan was expended on building a workshop for producing new products. Meanwhile, they utilized rejects and old material to rebuild a high-temperature lubricating workshop, and through the improvement of technology, the capacity for production was raised 20 times. The workers declared: "This is our spirit of making revolution with three big pots, the old tradition of starting the Oil and Fat Plant in the hard way on the basis of self-reliance. Money should be spent in this way."

They persisted in putting proletarian politics in command in production. The broad masses of workers were mobilized to take part in management and to control finance. Every shift and group kept its consumption record and audited its accounts. A set of rational management system of proven effectiveness was thus established for continuously raising the quality of products, lowering costs and providing the state with a bigger and bigger accumulation.

Take One's Own Road in Technical Development

In accordance with Chairman Mao's great teaching, "Smash foreign conventions, take our own road in industrial development," the Oil and Fat Plant has mastered technique and scaled the pinnacles of technique for the revolution, and followed the road of planting one's feet on indigenous methods, proceeding from indigenous methods to modern methods and integrating indigenous methods with modern methods.

When the plant was first started, the revolutionary workers were as blank as a piece of white paper in terms of technique. They had never worked in a factory, much less had they any knowledge of the oil-refining technique. There was in the plant a person who described himself as an "expert in oil and fat." He regarded his meager technical knowledge as a "secret prescription passed down from his ancestors," but actually he just fooled the masses by changing a few formulae in his hands. The old workers discussed things together. They said: "This person is not of one mind with us. We cannot work like fools but must make up our minds to master technique. We should rely on ourselves to run the factory and to develop technique." The workers rose in great vigor, painstakingly learned and

studied things, used their hands, eyes, noses and tongues to examine the quality of products, learned as they worked, and gradually mastered the technique. The ordinary housewives of the past are now capable of proficiently mastering the production technique for the greater part of products. In the matter of trial manufacture of products, technological designing, building construction and installation, this plant has fostered its own technical force that has mastered many skills while specializing in one.

When dealing with technique and equipment, the Oil and Fat Plant made full use of the existing conditions in accordance with its own needs and possibilities. It made use of modern methods whenever it could do so, and when it could not use modern methods, it resorted to indigenous methods. When it was dissatisfied with indigenous methods, it proceeded from the use of indigenous methods to the use of modern methods and integrated the former with the latter. In the course of production, it continuously summed up the practical experience of the masses, developed and improved such experience step by step, and created a set of scientific, rational and practical technological procedure and production equipment.

For example, in order to improve the quality of grease with a calcium base, it was necessary to remove the grease from the tank at a low temperature. At first, there was no equipment for removing the grease from the tank at a lower temperature, and since the grease became too thick to flow out, the workers had to risk scorching and remove the grease ladle by lable with a big iron ladle at a temperature of about 100 degree Centigrade.

They persevered in production, on the one hand, and improved the equipment and technological procedure, on the other. After two years of uninterrupted efforts, they proceeded from direct heating with fire to heating with steam, from the single-wall caldron to the double-wall caldron, from manual stirring to mechanical stirring and two-way stirring. The "indigenous methods" were gradually replaced with the integration of indigenous and modern methods, and the elementary things were replaced with things of a high grade. Production was also mechanized and piped, and the quality of grease with a calcium base caught up with the advanced level of similar products in China.

They constantly posed difficult questions for themselves, smashed the philosophy of foreign slaves, and scaled technical pinnacles for the revolution. In 1965, a type of China's production equipment needed a kind of grease with a non-alkali base. The capitalist countries made things difficult for us by demanding a high price and setting harsh terms. When the workers heard this news, they were so indignant that they keenly wanted to take up this task.

The great leader Chairman Mao taught us: "We cannot follow the old road of technical development taken by other countries in the world, and creep along at a snail's pace after other people." The workers and technicians of the Oil and Fat Plant stormed the difficult issue with the spirit of revolution plus desperation. Comrade Tung Shih-lin who was responsible for this experimental work was a worker-technician who had gone to

school for no more than six year. He suffered seriously from a duodenal ulcer and inflammation of the gall bladder, and was often in a fever. But he firmly clung to his combat post all the time with an amazing fortitude. In order to look for a sort of raw material, the workers went to 11 provinces and regions and brought back 33 kinds of specimens. After conducting 108 tests, they overcame one difficulty after another and finally successfully trial manufactured the grease.

The workers then set a higher struggle target and were resolved to cast the capitalist countries behind us. The key issue in this connection was to transform the performance of a thickening agent. The workers and technicians dared to think and act, and with the help of the units concerned, they bravely conducted experiments with indigenous methods, and it took them only 60 days to solve the issue. After the product was tested and compared with the foreign product, it was found that one application of the non-alkali high-temperature grease of the capitalist countries could insure continued operation for six months, while the product of this plant could insure continued operation for 11 months. When applied on the electric generator of a machine, this kind of grease lasted 50 times longer than the ordinary grease, and when applied on the roller bearing of the giant cutting machine in the steel rolling plant, the former lasted 971 times longer than the latter.

The Oil and Fat Plant established itself on giving a hand themselves, daring to scale the pinnacle in technique and daring to take the road no one had taken before. It set its mind on completing what it wanted to carry out. The typical products of nine varieties and 28 specifications which the plant is producing at present were all brought into being through groping.

There Must Be Revolutionized People Before There Can Be Revolutionized Factories

By running the Oil and Fat Plant as a revolutionized socialist enterprise, many experiences have been acquired, but the most fundamental one is that nursed by Mao Tsetung thought and tempered through the three revolutionary movements--class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment--a revolutionized force has matured. There must be revolutionized people before there can be revolutionized factories.

This plant has a revolutionized leading group. They creatively study and apply Mao Tsetung thought, steadfastly manage their affairs according to Chairman Mao's instructions, take the lead in learning and consciously revolutionize themselves. They take the lead in doing things and consciously set the example. They take the lead in blazing the trial and courageously take risks. They regard Chairman Mao's great teachings on "Self-reliance," "arduous struggle" and "operating factories through diligence and frugality" as the mottoes for running their plant. They constantly study them, repeatedly apply them and guide their action with them. Whenever they do anything, what they see first is the human factor, and they have deep faith in the "strength" of self-reliance latent in the broad masses. They maintain close contacts with the masses and they never detach themselves

physically from labor and mentally from the masses. They appear in places where there are difficulties, and it is not possible to distinguish the workers from the leading cadres. A vice chairman of the revolutionary committee never parts with the hammer, the pincers and the pick round the year, and he is hailed by the masses as "the revolutionary old brown ox and the good vanguard in arduous struggle."

At the time of constructing a private railroad, Comrade Liu Sheng went with the truck to pull sleepers from the forest zone. He climbed the mountain with other people, and although the artificial legs caused the stumps of his broken legs to bleed, yet he insisted on climbing. When the truck driver advised him not to climb any more, he said: "There is no smooth road for the revolution, and to make revolution one must climb the slope. I want to climb the slope all my life for wiping out imperialism, revisionism and reaction and liberating the whole of mankind." The workers declared: "with the revolutionary leading group bent on following Chairman Mao to make revolution, the revolutionary road and self-reliance will get broader and broader."

The leading group of this plant has fostered with Mao Tsetung thought a contingent of backbone elements with red hearts and hard bones. In this contingent, there are pace-setters who bravely defended Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary lines during the great proletarian cultural revolution, veteran workers who started undertakings in the hard way at all times in the past 12 years, demobilized and discharged armymen who had been trained in the great school of the People's Liberation Army, and young intellectuals who consciously accept the re-education of the working class. They have themselves taken part in the battle for transforming the poor and blank look of the Oil and Fat Plant, and have profound proletarian feelings for the plant started in the hard way on the basis of self-reliance. They love the plant and love even more socialism.

Chu Yü-shu, an old worker more than 50 years old, was formerly a housewife. Because of her miserable lot in the old society, she boundlessly cherished Chairman Mao. She took great pains to make living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought and conscientiously heeded what Chairman Mao said. She did what the Party instructed her. She worked diligently, cautiously and attentively, and exerted her utmost to build socialism. She often said: "The Party is my mother and the plant my home. I heed what the Party says and I love my home." During the great proletarian cultural revolution, she gloriously joined the great Chinese Communist Party and became a vanguard fighter of the proletariat.

The Oil Fat and Plant pays great attention to educating the new generation with the revolutionary tradition so that the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance may be passed on from generation to generation. When a new worker joins the plant, the first lesson he is taught by the cadres and technicians deals with "independence and self-reliance." He is told the history of the plant and is stamped with the brand of "making revolution with three pots." The veteran workers teach the young workers by words and deeds.

When a graduate from a secondary vocational school first came to the plant, she thought that the plant was small and had no future. She considered it inglorious to mention the "three big pots." On one occasion, she threw away a pair of dirty gloves, but an old worker quietly picked them up, and washed and mended them. At the time of removing bricks, when she found that she had no gloves to use, the old worker handed her that pair of gloves and told her meaningfully: "When we made revolution with three big pots, there were no gloves to wear. You people must be our good successors in the arduous struggle." Helped by this old worker, the thought of this youth gradually changed. Recently, she went to the city to buy some glass instruments. Seeing that it cost five yüan to hire a car, she thought: "This sum is equivalent to one-fifth of the capital for building our plant". She therefore made two trips and carried back the instruments herself. A generation of new people is in the course of drawing stout sprouts and growing on the fertile soil of self-reliance.

"If we also talked of self-reliance in the past, then in the new international environment, self-reliance is even more important." Confronted by the war threats of US imperialism and social-imperialism, the revolutionary masses of the Oil and Fat Plant of Kirin municipality, closely following Chairman Mao's great strategic plan and proceeding from the need of preparedness against war, are resolved "to climb the steepest slope and scale the highest mountain" so as to win a new and greater victory in self-reliance.

The Investigation Group of the Kirin Provincial Revolutionary Committee and the Kirin Municipal Revolutionary Committee.

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Mao Tsetung Thought Inspires Us To March Forward

- achievement made and experience gained in implementing the directive, "In agriculture, learn from Tachai"

by

Hsiyang Hsien Revolutionary Committee,
Shansi Province

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 1, January 1, 1970)

Inspired by the spirit of the "Ninth Congress," we were filled with the joy of victory and said goodbye to the brilliant year 1969 and have ushered in a new year, the first year of the 1970's.

Hsiyang hsien was an area of sterile, high mountains where the slope was steep and the layer of surface soil was thin and drought and other natural disasters befell in nine out of ten years. It was one of the poverty-stricken hsien known in the history of Shansi. After the great new democratic revolution and socialist revolution, our hsien began to change its poor and backward aspects. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, it again went through an earth-shaking change. Mao Tsetung thought has been popularized on an unprecedented scale. Chairman Mao's great strategic idea, "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people," has deeply impressed the people. The revolutionary spirit of "self-reliance," "arduous struggle" and "fearing neither hardship nor death" has been displayed on a big scale. Peasants of a new type armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are growing up soundly. "Looking forward to the city of Peking, turning one's heart to Chairman Mao, and doing labor for the revolutionary cause" has become a common wish of the 190,000 people of the whole hsien.

The splendid flower of ideological and political work will invariably bear a bounteous fruit in economic work. In 1969, in the whole hsien, the average output of grain per mow quickly rose to over 400 catties as against the output of some 200 catties in 1966, and the total output exceeded 160 million catties while that in 1966 was some 80 million catties. In only three years, the average output of grain per mow in the whole hsien reached the target specified in the "Outline of Agricultural Development in the Whole Country."

With grain output increased in a big degree, the amount of surplus grain sold to the State has increased year after year, the amount of grain reserved by the collective and the commune members also has increased with each passing day, and a tremendous improvement has been made in the life of the commune members. At present, the situation of revolution and production in the urban and rural areas in the whole hsien is excellent. People have changed for the better, the land has been levelled, new villages have been built, cattle and sheep have multiplied, and everywhere is a scene of growing prosperity.

Why has such tremendous achievement been made? Is it because the weather has been fine? No. The past few years saw drought, flood-logging, hailstone, storm and insect pest. A serious disaster of hailstone befell in 1968, the like of which was never seen in the past few decades. We relied on neither Heaven nor Earth. Mao Tsetung thought was our basic mainstay. People of the whole hsien firmly answered Chairman Mao's great call, "In agriculture, learn from Tachai." Taking the people of Tachai as the example, they learned from them their guiding principle of putting Mao Tsetung thought in the fore and putting the proletarian politics in command; they learned from them their revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and arduous struggle; they learned from them their communist styles of loving the State and the collective. What was the most important was that they learned from the people of Tachai their method of equipping the mind with Mao Tsetung thought and using Mao Tsetung thought to analyze the people's mind, to remold the people and to revolutionize the people's thinking. Only when the people have changed will it be possible to induce a change in Nature, in technology and in production output.

In the course of learning from Tachai, we went through a violent struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. Tachai is a red banner planted on the agricultural front by great leader Chairman Mao himself. This represents his greatest solicitude for the whole Chinese people and also his greatest inspiration and greatest spurring to the poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai and the people of Hsiyang hsien. People of the whole hsien long ago had a strong desire to learn from Tachai. But, renegade, traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i and his agents threw obstacles in the way and carried out sabotage by all possible means. They muffled and distorted Chairman Mao's directive and audaciously negated the achievement made by Tachai, in a vain attempt to chop off this red banner, Tachai. To defend Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai and the whole hsien resolutely struggled against Liu Shao-ch'i and his agents. During the great cultural revolution, the broad revolutionary masses of the whole hsien recaptured part of the power formerly usurped by the handful of capitalist roaders. They set up the "three-in-one" revolutionary committee. After that, this supreme directive, "In agriculture, learn from Tachai," was carried out in the whole hsien and there was a reliable guarantee for carrying out the mass movement for learning from Tachai. Since the day the hsien revolutionary committee was born, we have placed learning from Tachai on our agenda and taken the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation as the principal content. We decided to carry out the mass movement of learning from Tachai and drew the plan of building Hsiyang hsien in the pattern of Tachai in five years.

Proceeding from the revolutionary mass criticism, we relentlessly criticized the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i and his agents. We disclosed their towering crimes of opposing Chairman Mao's directive, "In agriculture, learn from Tachai." We removed the obstacles on the road of learning from Tachai. In every commune and

production team, the class struggle was taken as the key link and everywhere was a battlefield of revolutionary mass criticism. The masses recalled the past bitterness and compared it with the present happiness while bearing in mind the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines in their units. They learned Chairman Mao's teachings and compared them with the poison released by Liu Shao-ch'i. They examined the sabotage carried out by the class enemies, analyzed the struggle launched by the poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai, and reviewed their own attitude toward this struggle. They credited the past bitterness to Liu Shao-ch'i and traced the root of the past bitterness to Liu Shao-ch'i, thereby greatly arousing their enthusiasm and consciousness in learning from Tachai. They realized that whether or not they would learn from Tachai was a major problem of whether or not they would obey Chairman Mao's words, be loyal to Chairman Mao and take the socialist road.

In Wuchiap'ing brigade which was only one li from Tachai, the natural conditions were better than those of Tachai. As a result of the pernicious influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionism and the sabotage by the class enemies, it did not learn from Tachai and its production remained backward. After the revolutionary mass criticism, it rectified its attitude and whipped up an upsurge of learning from Tachai. Subsequently, its production increased step by step. Its average output of grain per mow was 540 catties in 1967, 640 catties in 1968 and more than 800 catties in 1969. The poor and lower-middle peasants of this brigade learned an impressive lesson, saying: "Chairman Mao calls us to learn from Tachai, pointing to us the bright road. Formerly we did not learn from Tachai so that we suffered hardships. After learning from Tachai for three years, we now taste the sweet of success for the first time."

Taking Mao Tsetung thought as a powerful weapon, people of the whole hsien vigorously destroyed "self-interests" and established the proletarian devotion to the "public," and continuously surmounted the ideological hindrances preventing them from learning from Tachai. In the course of learning from Tachai, some cadres and commune members showed living ideas of one sort or another as a result of being influenced by the force of old ideas and old habits. They said that the cadres were incapable in work, the commune members were low in consciousness, the natural environments were poor and there were no conditions for learning from Tachai. Some others were afraid of taking the lead, feared hardships, and objected to learning from Tachai for the troubles involved.

Obeying Chairman Mao's teaching, "Running study classes is a good method," we set up Mao Tsetung thought study classes of various types in the whole hsien. The cadres and the revolutionary masses took the "three constantly-read articles" as their permanent reminder, compared their deeds with it and examined themselves with it, and continuously criticized the rightist conservative ideas hindering their learning from Tachai.

Nannao brigade was situated on the barren Changchia Mountain where the natural conditions were poor and there had always been a shortage of grain, fuel and water. The residents there lacked the confidence in learning from Tachai and in changing the backward aspects. They said that "it was really difficult to improve Nannao." After studying the "three constantly-read articles," they took Tachai as the example. Working arduously and in a down-to-earth manner, they built a traffic highway on the mountain, set up a high-tension power transmission line and conducted water onto the mountain. Grain output increased in the past three years.

As a result of arming the commune members with Mao Tsetung thought, a new situation emerged in which the people of the whole hsien "compared themselves with the 'Foolish Old Man,' thought about Norman Bethune, remembered Chang Szu-te, looked at the people of Tachai, followed the examples of the heroes, and learned from them ever more vigorously."

The continuous deepening of the mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought and the persistent development of the revolutionary mass criticism laid the ideological foundation for the reconstruction of Hsiyang and guaranteed the triumphant progress of the movement of learning from Tachai.

In Hsiyang hsien there were five rivers running through 14 communes. Of them, Sunghsi River, which was more than 200 li long, brought about the biggest damage. It overflowed whenever there was excess rain, often flooding the villages on both banks and washing away the soil, so that the area of arable land diminished year after year. Therefore, to permanently harness these five rivers and to open fields of the Tachai type was an important measure for changing the aspect of Hsiyang and securing stable and high yields of crops.

Under the leadership of the hsien revolutionary committee, the superiority of the people's communes was fully displayed. In the principle of unified planning and centralized management and fighting battles at various levels with emphasis on the brigade level, the communes and brigades drew their own plans for the control of mountain streams and rivers. The work which could be carried out by a production team was given to the production team; the work which could not be done by a production team was given to the commune or was carried out jointly by the commune and the brigade. In drawing the plans of various projects for control of mountain streams and rivers, attention was paid to combining long-term interests with immediate interests and combining the special teams with the mass movement. Moreover, the problems of economic relations among various units were solved reasonably in accordance with the Party's policy. In winter 1967, braving the exceeding cold, the broad masses of the whole hsien went to hillslopes and river banks and started the battle against the barren mountain and evil rivers.

In this battle, engineering and construction was carried out in all the 413 brigades and 20 communes in the whole hsien. Obeying Chairman Mao's teachings about "self-reliance" and "arduous struggle," various communes and production brigades in the whole hsien relentlessly criticized Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist black goods of "material incentive," "philosophy of servility to things foreign," "doctrine of crawling at a snail's pace" and "harnessing of river by expert." Displaying the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death, they raised capitals, made tools, carried out surveys and drew designs by their own efforts, without asking a bit of money or supply from the State. Relying on the invincible Mao Tsetung thought, taking Tachai as the example, and working with their hands, they made the high mountain bend its head and the river change its course.

During the movement of learning from Tachai, Hsikupi brigade which had only some 600 residents generated a huge force. All of them, men and women, old and young, worked together, cleaving Chailing Hill in front of the village and digging a canal 70 meters wide and 321 meters long, so that Sunghsi River changed its course and more than 1,200 mow of land was reclaimed from the former course of the river, thus expanding the acreage of farmland by over 100 percent. The poor and lower-middle peasants of this brigade said heroically: "The whole family of the Foolish Old Man could remove Taihang and Wangwu mountains. Why can't the people of our village remove the small Chailing Hill?"

The hsien, commune and brigade authorities jointly supervised the project of control of Sunghsi River. A big dam measuring 8 meters high and 2,700 meters long was built at Chiehtu to keep away the flood. The project of Kuochuang reservoir involved the opening of 27 tunnels in the mountain, building of 12 troughs and excavation of more than 220,000 cubic meters of rock and earth; a canal measuring 15 li long was built. These two projects of farmland irrigation, the biggest in the whole hsien, were also completed by entirely relying on own efforts and developing the wisdom of the masses.

On the vast worksites, proceeding from the great strategic idea, "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people," people of the whole hsien fought against Nature, fought self-interests and criticized revisionism and carried out militia training, thus combining the time of peace with the time of war and labor with military training. They regarded carrying a basketful of earth, removing a rock and reclaiming a plot of land as contributing an ounce of strength to the socialist construction and as a telling blow to the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries, thereby greatly heightening efficiency of their work and quickening the progress of the engineering projects.

After three years' arduous struggle, more than 8,100,000 cubic meters of earth was excavated in the whole hsien, 197 dams and embankments of various types were built totalling more than 43,000 meters in length,

more than 30,000 mow of land was reclaimed from rivers and mountain streams, representing 8 percent of the total area of farmland in the whole hsien, 220,000 mow of fields were built in the pattern of those in Tachai, of which more than 40,000 mow had been turned from dry land into irrigated fields. In this way, the former sites of the rivers turned into rice-producing spots which gave stable and high yields in a normal year and normal yields even in years of drought and flood-logging.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The masses have boundless creative power. They can organize themselves and concentrate on places and branches of work where they can give full play to their energy; they can concentrate on production in breadth and depth and create more and more welfare undertakings for themselves." We have learned deeply from practice that this teaching of Chairman Mao's is a great truth. As long as we trust the masses and rely on them and fully exploit their socialist enthusiasm, we can surmount all difficulties and work any miracle on earth.

Comrades of Tachai said this very well: "A cadre must go in the fore to work." We have been greatly enlightened by these words. During the mass movement for learning from Tachai, we tightly grasped the revolutionization of thinking of the leading groups of the hsien, commune and brigade levels, put Mao Tsetung thought in command of everything and used Mao Tsetung thought to remold, push and lead everything. While transforming the objective world, we also transformed our subjective world. We organized the cadres at all levels to conscientiously study the excellent characters of the cadres of Tachai in working arduously and in a down-to-earth manner, practicing economy and frugality, and uniting themselves together, and urged them to go in the fore to fight self and criticize revisionism and do productive labor, so as to build the leading groups at various levels into revolutionized fighting commands which linked themselves with the masses.

To strengthen ideological revolutionization of the hsien revolutionary committee, we carried out open-door rectification campaigns three times and mobilized the poor and lower-middle peasants to put forth opinions and help improve the styles of leadership. The hsien-level organs were cut down and simplified by three quarters in scale and their staffs reduced by two-thirds. While learning from the cadres of Tachai their types of linking themselves with labor, the masses and practice, we constantly adhered to three systems: First, comrades working in the office do manual labor for half a day and do office work in the other half; second, two-thirds of the cadres regularly go deep into practice and stay in the countryside to make investigations and to eat, live, labor, study and discuss problems together with the masses; third, the cadres go periodically and by turns to participate in productive labor in the production teams. In the past three years, each of the cadres at the hsien and commune levels devoted three quarters of his time each year to living with the masses and participated in collective productive labor for more than 120 days each year. This further strengthened ideological revolutionization of the cadres, cemented their relationship with the masses, and pushed forward various branches of work.

Obeying Chairman Mao's teaching, "To lead means not only to decide general and specific policies but also to devise correct methods of work," we paid attention to our methods of work, grasped the typical cases, discovered and brought up in a planned manner and step by step the models in learning from Tachai and popularized them in the whole hsien, and gave guidance in different branches of work. At present, there are at the commune and brigade levels models in increasing grain output in a big degree, models in developing agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry and sidelines in an all-round manner, and models in fighting arduously to change the poor aspects. The emergence of advanced models has given a great impetus to the development of the movement for learning from Tachai. While grasping specific spots and setting the whole work in motion, the leaders give personal guidance and grasp the work through to the end. The improvement in the methods of work brings about much better results in leading the mass movement of learning from Tachai.

In the past three years, we have made some achievements in learning from Tachai, but these achievements are still very far from being enough when compared with the requirements of the development of the revolutionary situation and judged by the standard of Tachai. The year 1970 will be the last year of the plan of building our hsien into one in the pattern of Tachai. We will firmly remember Chairman Mao's teaching, "Be humble and prudent and guard against arrogance and rashness." We will, on the basis of bumper harvests reaped in the past three years in succession, continue to mobilize the people of the whole hsien to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, to display the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and arduous struggle and to win still greater victories.

* * *

Continue to Display the Revolutionary Spirit of Fearing Neither Hardship Nor Death

by

Party Committee of "Steel No. 1 Battalion" of a Certain Unit of Tsinan Armed Force of the Chinese People's Liberation Army

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 1, January 1, 1970)

Singing songs of triumph in accomplishing various fighting tasks put forth by the 9th Party Congress, hundreds of millions of armymen and civilians the country over are filled with the joy of victory and have ushered in the militant 1970's.

Entering the great 1970's, everywhere in the motherland is Spring and the 700 million Chinese people are in high fighting spirit and are marching in more heroic strides to join in the new combat. The battle drum is heard everywhere in the world and the mighty current of world revolution is washing against the reactionary camp of imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries. "A new historical period of fighting US imperialism and the Soviet imperialists has begun." In this excellent situation, we are filled with endless excitement and respectfully wish our great leader Chairman Mao a long, long life!

Looking back at the road travelled in the past year, we find we have done some work and made some achievements in strengthening the revolutionized and militant construction of the army unit and in carrying out the "three-supporting and two-military" work. This is entirely attributable to great leader Chairman Mao, to the invincible Mao Tsetung thought and to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "I am for the slogan, 'fear neither hardship nor death.'" This thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit as consistently advocated by Chairman Mao is a concentrated expression of the communist world outlook, is the heirloom by means of which the people's army overcomes the enemies and wins victories, and is our unique spiritual atom bomb which finds no equal in power.

We have learned deeply from the practice of struggle that to arm the cadres and fighters with Mao Tsetung thought and to cultivate an army unit in the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death during the three great revolutionary movements is the important content of bringing proletarian politics to the fore and is the most fundamental preparedness against war.

Whether we should bring politics or military affairs to the fore has always been the focal point of the struggle between the two lines in the building of our army. Proceeding from their counter-revolutionary needs of

capitulating to the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries and restoring capitalism, renegade, traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i and counter-revolutionary revisionists P'eng Te-huai and Lo Jui-ch'ing wildly pushed a bourgeois line in military affairs. They audaciously spread the "philosophy of survival" and advocated the fallacies, "military affairs come first" and "technique comes first" and the "theory that weapon is the only factor," in a vain attempt to make our army throw away the heirloom of fearing neither hardship nor death and to lead the army building to the sidetrack of revisionism.

The Party committee of our battalion repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's great theory about continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, studied the "Resolution of Kut'ien Conference" as if it were a permanent reminder, and resolutely struggled against the bourgeois line in military affairs. Through this study and struggle, we realized that Chairman Mao's proletarian line of army building stressed bringing the proletarian politics to the fore, putting the Mao Tsetung thought in command of everything, revolutionizing man's thinking, relying on the people with high revolutionary consciousness to grasp the weapon and to defeat the enemies. The more modernized the arms and equipment are and the more complicated the technical conditions are, the more we should develop the factor of man, revolutionize man's thinking and display the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death.

Vice Chairman Lin pointed out: "What is the greatest fighting force? It is the people who are armed with the Mao Tsetung thought; it is bravery and fearlessness of death." In the past few decades, our army could grow from a small contingent into a big one and from a weak force into a powerful one and defeated the class enemies at home and abroad and march from one victory to another, because it relied on the Mao Tsetung thought and had the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death. Our battalion accomplished its task of intercepting and defeating the enemy force in a campaign during the period of the Liberation War, won merits and was conferred the title, "Steel No. 1 Battalion," because all its comrades were completely devoted to Chairman Mao, the Party and the people and because it relied on man's revolutionary consciousness and spirit of brave sacrifice. This was so in the past and also is true today. In 1967, in rescuing a train loaded with extremely poisonous agricultural insecticide which had caught fire, the cadres and fighters of our battalion dashed into the flames and the smoke even though they knew well that they might be burned or poisoned. When one of them fell, many others dashed to take his place. After fighting arduously for ten hours and more, they overcame the poisonous smoke and intense fire, withstanding a rigid test.

Countless facts show that revolutionary fighters who are armed with the Mao Tsetung thought can stand upright, conquer Nature, have nothing to fear, will win all battles, overcome all difficulties, accomplish all tasks, and defeat all enemies.

Vice Chairman Lin said: "He who does not know the meaning of class does not know the meaning of exploitation and revolution." To conduct class education well by taking Mao Tsetung thought as the guideline and to translate the plain class affection of the cadres and the fighters into conscious class awareness and into a lofty revolutionary ideal is an important link in cultivating the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death.

While grasping class education, we first conscientiously organized the cadres and the fighters to study Chairman Mao's great theory about classes, class struggle and continuation of revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to recall past bitterness and think about the seizure of power, to carry out revolutionary mass criticism, to link the hardships they and their families suffered in the old society with the class sufferings, and to link the sufferings of the Chinese people in the old society with the sufferings of the oppressed and exploited people of the world.

Through this study, the cadres and the fighters uprooted the past bitterness, which was the evil system of exploitation,and the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries who went all-out to protect this evil system. Imperialism means war. As long as imperialism and social-imperialism exist, they will launch a war of aggression to suppress the revolutionary movements launched by the world's people and to butcher the revolutionary people.

We know this truth clearly: "The proletariat must emancipate not only itself but also mankind as a whole. Without emancipating mankind as a whole, the proletariat cannot achieve final emancipation of itself." Only by completely burying the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries and finally emancipating mankind as a whole will it be possible to totally and completely uproot exploitation and wars. Such is our decision: All revolutionary people of the world unite together to defeat imperialism, modern revisionism and all reaction and strive to realize communism in the whole world. In this way, the cadres and the fighters translated their implacable hatred against imperialism, revisionist and reaction into a huge force. The more their hatred against the enemies deepened, the more their revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death increased.

When he joined our battalion, a certain new fighter was afraid of hardship and sought comfort in life. After recalling the past bitterness and thinking about the seizure of power, he relentlessly criticized Liu Shao-ch'i's "doctrine of dying out of class struggle" and "philosophy of survival," thereby heightening his consciousness in continuing the revolution and arousing his hatred against the class enemies. In doing work, he picked heavy loads to carry. One night, it was raining when he was on night duty. Regardless of his safety, he arrested single-handed a former rich-peasant element who was armed with a lethal weapon and who had stolen state property.

Intense fire tempers real gold; pure steel is obgained only after it is refined one hundred times. Fearing neither Heaven nor Earth, neither hardship nor death, the iron-willed fighters are tempered and grow up in

difficult surroundings; the tough-bone spirit of an unconquerable unit is trained by repeated combat. To cultivate an army unit in the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death, not only is ideological education a must, but continuous tempering under difficult circumstances is required in time of peace.

Obeying Chairman Mao's teaching, "We rather think more about the difficulties," and considering the war in the future, proceeding from the difficult circumstances, harsh training and real combat, and taking into consideration the weak points of our unit, we specially organized the cadres and the fighters to carry out trainimg in the most difficult and most complicated environments. In camping training, we did not take the highway but the narrow tracks, we did not walk the level roads but ascended the slopes, we carried out a forced march in a snowstorm and in rain at night, we walked all night, we ate and slept in the open, so as to train ourselves ideologically and physically and in style.

The artillery company had mules, so that its fighters had not been trained in carrying guns in a march. Accordingly, we often made them carry howitzers and cross mountains. In a military drill, the artillery company was fully armed and marched in rain, carrying the howitzers and ammunition. It walked 180 li in 24 hours, triumphantly accomplishing their tasks. After being tempered in difficult and complicated environments of various kinds, the cadres and the fighters who had never gone through arduous training were able to withstand tests. They heightened their consciousness and cultivated the habit of enduring hardships and doing hard work. The old cadres also aroused their fighting youth in the course of hard training and made revolution vigorously.

While organizing training for the unit, we guided the cadres and the fighters to apply Mao Tsetung thought in making clear two relationships.

The first is the relationship between hard training at ordinary times and the capability of overcoming difficulties at crucial moments. Chairman Mao teaches us: "We must thoroughly clear away all ideas among our cadres of winning easy victories by luck, without waging a bitter struggle, without sweat and blood." On the revolutionary road, difficulties and hardships exist objectively. To defeat the enemy in a war which the enemy launches early or on a big scale and in a nuclear war launched on a big scale, and to win a war against aggression, we must tightly grasp all chances, consciously look for hardships and temper ourselves, and raise and strengthen our consciousness, will and power of overcoming difficulties.

Some people of our unit once had the idea that "we can fight competently at the crucial moment although we do not look competent at ordinary times." This, in essence, negated the truth that Mao Tsetung thought brings up heroes and negated the objective law that "pure steel is obtained after repeated forging and tempering." The heroic deeds of a revolutionary fighter

at the crucial moment is originated in his steady and living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought at ordinary times, his conscientious remolding of world outlook and his prolonged hard training. A man can be dauntless only when he is selfless. Only those people who have established the proletarian world outlook and have the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death can hold their ground and charge forward bravely, in a war against aggression, before the enemies' fire.

The second relationship is that between rigid training of the unit and class affection with the fighters. After studying Chairman Mao's works, all have come to realize that to give the unit rigid training in order that it may defend the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist motherland and triumphantly accomplish its task at the moment needed by the Party and the people means the deepest proletarian affection for the Party, the people and the revolution and also for the fighters. If the fighters are allowed to indulge in comfort now and are not sent to go through tempering and endure hardships, they will fail to overcome difficulties and to accomplish their tasks at the crucial moment. This means the biggest irresponsibility and the biggest absence of proletarian affection for the Party, the people and the revolution and also for the fighters. Rigid training for the unit is entirely harmonious with the class affection for the fighters. With their understanding enhanced, the cadres organize the unit more boldly to go through tempering and the fighters also have become more conscious in accepting the tempering.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Cadres are a decisive factor, once the political line is determined." Cadres are leaders of a unit. Their ideological styles have direct influence on the unit. If the cadres are good in ideological styles and fear neither hardship nor death, the unit under their leadership will invariably have the courage to fight to the bitter end and to charge at the enemies. The setting of example by the cadres is the glorious tradition of our army. In the years of war, our cadres always went in the fore and charged at the enemies in disregard of their own safety. In the face of war provocations perpetrated by imperialism and social-imperialism at present, it is all the more necessary to teach the cadres to develop this tradition and to take over and hand down the heirloom of fearlessness of both hardship and death. While cultivating the unit in the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death, we request that cadres should achieve the following: They should go in the fore to study and apply the Mao Tsetung thought; they should go in the fore to fight self-interest and criticize revisionism and transform their world outlook; they should go in the fore to do hard work and productive labor; they should go in the fore and march forward in the face of danger.

While grasping the ideological and political work of the leaders, we first urge the cadres to raise their consciousness in continuing the revolution. We often adopt the method of setting up a study class, calling "discussion and application" meeting and carrying out revolutionary mass criticism and organize them to creatively study and apply Mao Tsetung thought and to enhance their revolutionary consciousness. In the second place, we

teach the cadres to go among the masses, to accept criticism and supervision by the fighters, to learn things from them and to allow the fighters to criticize the cadres' revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death, so as to promote revolutionization of their thinking. Thirdly, it is necessary to establish pace-setters.

A deputy commander of the machine-gun company always persisted in the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought and took the display of the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death as the highest standard of ideological revolutionization. At ordinary times, he carried out training consciously, so that he overcame difficulties at the crucial moment. We summed up his experience and commended his deeds. This taught the cadres of the whole battalion a very big lesson.

After our repeated efforts to educate the leaders, the cadres of the whole battalion greatly display their revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death. When they want the fighters to cross a river, the cadres always go first to make an attempt; when they want the fighters to ascend a perilous peak, the cadres go first to climb it. The cadres take command and participate in the fight where the conditions are the most difficult and the most dangerous. The fighters say: "In the face of hardship and danger, we can just look at what the cadres do and we will gain greater courage and strength to overcome difficulties."

In the new year to come, we definitely will obey Chairman Mao's great call, "Sharpen our vigilance and defend the motherland," penetratingly carry out the mass movement of creatively studying and applying the Mao Tsetung thought, create four-good companies in a down-to-earth manner, strengthen preparedness against war, continue to cultivate the unit in the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death, and strive to defend the socialist motherland and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat!

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Steadfastly Take the Road of Forming One with the Working Masses

by

Cheng Tai-yü (郑代雨)
Engineer of the Anshan Bureau of Electrical Equipment Industry

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 1, January 1, 1970)

The year 1969--a year of splendor and victory--is gone. Looking back over the sixties, China has won great victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction under the wise leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao. At the beginning of a new year, we cordially wish the great leader Chairman Mao a long, long life.

For more than ten years, in accordance with Chairman Mao's great teaching that "the intellectuals will accomplish nothing if they do not integrate themselves with the worker-peasant masses," I have taken a step forward in submitting myself to re-education by the workers, peasants and soldiers and in transforming my world outlook. This is the outcome of the nursing of Mao Tsetung thought, the outcome of my re-education by the working class.

Upon graduation from the Foochow Electrical Engineering Institute in 1950, I was assigned work at the Anshan Bureau of Electrical Equipment Industry. Although I came of a poor-peasant family, yet because I was poisoned by bourgeois education, I despised workers and peasants for I had knowledge and skill. However, my incompetence was revealed the moment I compared myself with the workers in practical struggle. I felt that I was truly incompetent and the workers were truly better than I. Therefore, I began to draw close to the workers, and I performed together with the workers such manual work as digging pits, erecting poles and operating the windlass.

I acted in this way without myself knowing why. I only felt that the workers knew more than I and that by working together with them I could learn more. I seldom pondered over the transformation of my world outlook. Some technicians told me: "You are an engineer and technician. When you go to the worksite, you should collect data for writing technical reports. By constantly doing manual work, wouldn't you become a worker?" Hearing this, I felt they had a good reason. But the workers warmly supported my doing manual work together with them, saying: "You have done the right thing, and only in this way can you form one with the workers." Which side was correct in the final analysis? A violent conflict between two kinds of thought took place in my mind. With this question in mind, I sought advice from Chairman Mao's works. Chairman Mao pointed out: "If you want the masses to understand you and if you want to mix as one with the masses, you ought to make up your mind to undergo protracted and even painful milling." Chairman Mao's teaching gave me greater strength and made me understand that in order to form one with

the workers and peasants, I must make up my mind to undergo protracted and even painful milling and to overcome the idea of fame and gain of bourgeois individualism.

Having raised my understanding and properly orientated my attitude, I persisted in doing manual work together with the workers. I went where they went and did what they did. I also played an active part in the more arduous labor such as working in mid air and patrolling the lines at night. Working in mid air was by no means simple, and at first I dared not climb up the iron tower. The master workman kept up my courage by telling me not to look downward. After drilling myself again and again, I finally learned to work in mid air and could climb up an iron tower more than 40 meters high.

By way of doing manual work together with the workers and accepting help and education from them, my thought and feeling began to change, and I gradually spoke their language. I began to understand the greatness and nobility of the working class. The workers are most close and loyal to Chairman Mao, they are most steadfast and thoroughgoing in revolution and they also have practical experience, while some of us intellectuals are far inferior to them.

On one occasion, at the time of overhauling the lines, a big thunderstorm broke out. Fearing that I would be held responsible for accidents, I asked the workers to stop work, but the workers were mindful of the urgent need of electric power for national construction and they persisted in the battle until the job was finished. The same incident reflected two distinctly different kinds of attitude and world outlook. I learned from practice that the working masses were my best teachers. I had a clearer idea of the course forward and a stronger consciousness of ideological remolding.

Transforming the world outlook is no plain sailing, and reversals will constantly emerge. In the heads of us intellectuals, the struggle between the two classes, the two roads, the two lines will never stop, and at all times there is the question of whether they should stand on the side of the proletariat or on the side of the bourgeoisie.

In 1956, I was promoted to deputy section chief. At first, I was somewhat unaccustomed to the big office desk and the armchair. Later, renegade, traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of getting learned in order to be an official" gained the upper hand in my mind, and I found sitting in the armchair quite comfortable and agreeable. I took off the overall and put on a suit made of fine material. I was closer to the office desk and farther away from the working masses. The master workman who was formerly on familiar terms with me actually addressed me as "section chief." I was greatly startled and hurriedly asked why he didn't call me "Tai-yü." The master workman sharply pointed out: "You are now an official. See what airs you have put on!" These words touched me a great deal and I studied Chairman Mao's works once again. On the question of how to see whether an educated youth was revolutionary, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Today, he is integrated with the worker-peasant masses and he is revolutionary, but should

he cease to form one with them tomorrow or even turn around to oppress the common people, then he is non-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary." Chairman Mao's teaching pointed out the way to me. I took off the suit of fine material and put on once again the overall. I went back among the working masses and tempered myself in the stormy class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment.

The struggle between the two classes, two roads, two lines was sharply reflected in the question of how electrification work was attacked and solved by our Bureau of Electrical Equipment Industry. Seeing that the switching off of electricity for overhauling purposes led to the suspension of production in factories and brought losses to the cause of building socialism, the working masses felt very sad and they suggested that overhaul of electrification work be carried out without switching off electricity. However, the capitalist roaders and bourgeois technical "authorities" of our Bureau clung to Liu Shao-ch'i's contrabands--the "philosophy of foreign slaves" and the "mentality of creeping along at a snail's pace." They cried: "Electricity has always been switched off when work is carried out. This convention cannot be violated. Electricity is different from other playthings; it is the bottom of the tiger that cannot be touched, and touching it means death!" The workers loudly replied: "Who says a convention cannot be violated? We are bent on violating it! Who says that the bottom of the tiger cannot be touched? We are bent on touching it!" This dauntless spirit of the master workmen who dared to struggle and to win deeply educated and inspired me. I stood on the side of the workers with greater steadfastness. By way of relying on invincible Mao Tsetung thought and the rich practical experience of the workers, we finally successfully invented the new method of overhauling the 220,000-volt ultra high-tension transmission line without switching off electricity.

Seeing that repression didn't work, the capitalist roaders and the bourgeois technical "authorities" changed their tactics and thought of promoting technical monopoly. They organized a group to carry out so-called research, but the workers were not allowed to take part in it. They nonsensically said: "It is not possible to mobilize the masses to carry out electrification work. On the question of technical research, the technicians form the head, while the workers are the limbs." According to US models, they spent several hundred thousand yüan to make some rough and clumsy tools, and were so shameless as to say: "It is a pity that there are no workers with a high enough skill to operate the American tools." The working masses firmly refuted this fallacy, and based on their years of practical experience, they manufacture a set of portable tools, thus greatly heightening the fighting will of the Chinese working class.

In 1968, the revolutionary committee of the Anshan Bureau of Electrical Equipment Industry was inaugurated, and I was elected to lead work in the revolutionary committee. I was greatly moved by the concern and trust shown me by the Party and the working masses, and I made up my mind to make a success of my work. However, because of my problems in ideology and work style, although I was busy from dawn to dusk, I was unable to

fulfill the task very well. The masses hit the nail on the head,pointing out: "It won't do for you people to work inside the Bureau, sleep in the building, sink yourselves in meetings and bury yourselves in office routine." An old worker specially removed to the revolutionary committee the broken desk which I used in the electrification work unit. He asked me to sit before this desk and not to forget manual work and the masses. When I began to cut myself off from manual work, the masses and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, they came again to re-educate me. This was for me the greatest concern and an exacting demand.

I and other leading members of the revolutionary committee studied Chairman Mao's teaching: "To reform government organs, the most fundamental thing is to maintain contacts with the masses." We immediately launched a rectification campaign with the door open, and urged the masses to state their views. The working masses warmly sent us six characters urging us "to sit down and to go to the lower level." They meant that we should sit down and make living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought with problems in mind, and that we should go to the lower level to persist in doing manual work and should never divorce ourselves from the masses. The view of the masses brought to light the fundamental question of building political power, and we firmly carried it out.

Under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao, we advanced continuously along the road of revolutionization and also continuously made innovations in the course of conducting scientific experiments. Led by the revolutionary committee and helped by the Liberation Army, the working class armed with Mao Tsetung thought won glory for Chairman Mao and the socialist fatherland. On the basis of inventing the method of overhauling the ultra high-tension transmission line without switching off electricity, they decided to experiment with the ultra high-tension transmission line and the free operation of an electrified body. Together with comrades I studied again and again Chairman Mao's great teaching: "The Chinese people have aspirations and ability, and they certainly will overtake and surpass the advanced level of the world in the not too distant future." We summed up our practical experiences, fully prepared ourselves, and took steps to carry out the experiment.

This experiment offered a good opportunity for fostering, tempering and testing the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death. The master workmen competed to be the first in enrolling themselves for the experiment. Their high degree of revolutionary consciousness set a splendid example for me. It occurred to me that it was more necessary for me to take part in the experiment and to foster the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death in the three great revolutionary struggles. I applied again and again to the revolutionary committee and the master workmen and won their support. This was the greatest cultivation and confidence given me by the working class.

The experiment for conducting the free operation of an electrified body with the ultra high-tension transmission line began. The command post at the site ordered that the voltage be stepped up. The voltage rose from

10,000, 20,000 to 150,000 and then to 220,000 volts, and following this I was ordered to enter the "prohibited area." I moved my legs, and as I moved forward step by step, the hands and feet gave off a cracking sound as they discharged electricity. Lit up by the sun that was in my heart, I held high the red banner bearing the five characters "Long live Mao Tse-tung." I was full of confidence and there was strength all over my body. Finally I passed through the so-called impassable "prohibited area," and planted the red flag on the 220,000-volt ultra high-tension transmission line. The advanced technical experiment with the free operation of an electrified body that surpassed the world level was successfully carried out. We went another step forward in winning freedom on the question of electricity. This was a great victory for Mao Tsetung thought, a great victory for the "Anshan Steel Charter," a great victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution!

A series of facts in the past ten or more years has made me deeply understand that the intellectuals must steadfastly take the road of forming one with the workers, peasants and soldiers as pointed out by Chairman Mao, persist in undergoing conscious, protracted and painstaking steeling, and thoroughly transform their old ideas before they can show courage in practice, in innovation and in invention and foster and steel the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death. With this change in thought and in stand, they can cherish what the workers, peasants and soldiers cherish, hate what the latter hate, and share the thought of the latter. They can truly mix as one with the workers, peasants and soldiers and will be welcomed by the workers, peasants and soldiers.

As I step into the great seventies today, I want to take another step forward in creatively studying and applying Mao Tsetung thought, closely following the lead of the great leader Chairman Mao, making revolution and taking the road of forming one with the workers, peasants and soldiers all my life, and contributing the strength of my whole life toward the Chinese revolution and the world revolution and toward burying completely imperialism, revisionism and reaction.

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On the Correct Handling of Several Relationships in Grasping Revolution and Promoting Production

by

Workers Commentary Group of Peking No. 3 Cotton Textile Mill

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 1, January 1, 1970)

Inspired by the spirit of the 9th National Congress of the Party, we of the working class, filled with the lofty ambition of winning glory for our great leader Chairman Mao and our great socialist mother country, greet the more brilliant year 1970 with prominent achievements in "grasping revolution and promoting production."

The new situation and the new tasks require us to unswervingly put proletarian politics to the fore in the course of industrial production, to further master the use of Chairman Mao's materialist dialectics of "one dividing into two" and correctly analyze and handle the various sets of relationships in grasping revolution and promoting production. Only in this way can we better fulfill the great policy of "grasping revolution, promoting production, promoting work, and promoting preparedness for war," further consolidate the proletarian dictatorship, and make good preparations against aggressive war.

In the following pages we shall discuss how we have correctly handled, by the application of Chairman Mao's viewpoint of "one dividing into two," the mutual relationships between revolution and production, output and quality, working hard and working skillfully, and between commendation and criticism.

Correct Handling of Relationship between Revolution and Production

In his political report at the 9th National Congress of the Party, Vice Chairman Lin pointed out: "The policy of 'grasping revolution and promoting production' is entirely correct, for it has correctly answered the relationships between revolution and production, spirit and matter, the superstructure and the economic base, and the relations of production and productive forces."

In correctly handling the various relationships in production, it is first of all necessary to handle the relationship between the grasping of revolution and the promotion of production. However, on this question, some of our comrades often arrive at a one-sided understanding by metaphysically regarding revolution and production as absolutely antagonistic to each other, whereas revolution and production form a dialectically unified relationship.

Politics is the commander and the soul. If we do not stress this point and if we relax revolution and the class struggle, we will engage in production for its own sake, and production, denied a correct orientation, will be undermined by the class enemy. If we depart from proletarian politics and grasp matter for its own sake, we will not be able to grasp matter well; and even if we have matter, we will not serve socialism and, instead, will take the evil road of capitalism.

It is only when we persevere in putting proletarian politics in command, further study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively, firmly grasp the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines, penetratingly launch revolutionary mass criticism, resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line of having the proletariat run enterprises, continue to advance the ideological revolutionization of man, and bring all positive factors into full play--it is only then that we can insure that production will proceed within the socialist orbit, spirit will be turned into matter, and substantial development of socialist production will be promoted. This truth seems understandable to all, yet some people with the purely business viewpoint often overlook it or have only a very crude understanding of it. They overlook the political orientation of production. They are short of a profound understanding of revolution being the greatest motive force for the development of production. They are also short of a profound understanding of the creative power of the working class.

Using revolution to command production does not mean substituting production with revolution. If we do not carry out the revolution well, we cannot promote the development of socialist production. In turn, revolution will be affected if we do not carry out production with success. The struggle for production is a great revolutionary movement--a vital front for building a socialist mighty mother country. Putting proletarian politics to the fore does not mean that we do not need matter and do not need production. Rather, it means that we use revolution to propel and promote production. Only by making a success of socialist production can we satisfy the needs of socialist revolution and socialist production and provide more effective aid to the world revolution.

That is to say, we must consciously exert our efforts in "promotion" so as to produce greater results in production. This makes it all the more necessary to put proletarian politics to the fore, grasp the ideological revolutionization of people well, and do a great deal of concrete work.

For instance, we must strengthen planning and technical control, enforce a strict cost accounting system, make rational allocation of labor power, safeguard labor discipline, and so on. Work in all these spheres requires the use of proletarian ideas to oppose bourgeois ideas in all their manifestations before work can be done well. Should we relax leadership over these fields of concrete work and refuse to put proletarian politics to the fore, we would practically deny the effect of proletarian politics as commander of production.

If we work hard to grasp production, does it mean that we have the purely business viewpoint? A concrete analysis has to be made here. The question is not that we grasp production but what kind of ideas we use in grasping production. If we forget our common political tasks and forget the whole and, instead, engross ourselves in business routines and grasp production for its own sake, then naturally we have the purely business viewpoint. But if we overlook the tremendous political significance of making a success of production, fail to see that making a success of production is necessary for "preparedness against war and natural disasters, and doing everything for the people," and fail to make a success of production, then actually we still would look at production from the purely business viewpoint and fail in showing a strong overall viewpoint.

Among some comrades a theory is gaining currency, that "to grasp revolution is assurance, to grasp production is dangerous." The reason this theory appears is that most of these comrades fail to draw a clear line of demarcation between "placing production first" and making a success of business work under the command of proletarian politics. Moreover, there are a small number of comrades who committed mistakes in the past as their minds were poisoned by the "production first" theory, and who today again proceed from the need of personal "assurance," negatively learn the lessons, and go from one extreme to another.

These comrades should, through the revolutionary mass criticism, draw a clear line of demarcation between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i, reform their world outlook in a proper way, pull themselves together, and boldly grasp production for the sake of revolution.

Correct Handling of Relationship Between Output and Quality

As we grasp revolution and promote production, serious efforts must be made on the industrial front to implement the general line of building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results. This requires correct handling of the relationship between output and quality and the production of more and better goods.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "We ask not only greater output of all goods but also better quality, that the goods are durable." When organizing industrial production, we must follow this instruction.

Greater and faster results, better and more economical results, output and quality--none of this can be neglected. Output is important. But this output must be output that conforms to quality requirements. If output is not in sufficient quantity, we cannot fulfill the tasks given in the State plans, nor can we satisfy the needs for war preparations,

socialist construction, and the livelihood of the people. Without quantity, there is not quality to speak of. But good or bad quality will in turn have a direct effect on quantity.

If we have no concern for quality in production and produce rejects or substandard goods, that would be tantamount to having no quantity or having a reduced quantity. It should also be seen that industrial production consists of many links. If the quality of one link does not conform to the requirements, it will affect the whole process of production. For example, if we produce cotton yarn poor in quality and weak in strength in the course of textile production, then yarn will frequently be broken when cloth is woven, resulting in low efficiency which directly affects the output of cotton cloth. Besides, if the cloth produced is inferior in quality, then garments made of it will become wornout in one year instead of two or three years. This in effect amounts to a corresponding reduction in output.

Some comrades said: "If we pay attention to quality, output will go down." Such a notion does not correspond to materialist dialectics. The fact is precisely the opposite. It is not that output will decline when we pay attention to quality, but that failure to give attention to quality will affect output.

Some comrades, in their race to fulfill their tasks, chase after output but neglect quality. Pondering over problems from the standpoint of departmentalism, they forget the integral interests of the Party and the people. Such a purely business viewpoint in effect magnifies individualism. One who holds this viewpoint does not have the concept of the whole and does not put proletarian politics to the fore. Production in our socialist enterprises serves the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship and the building of socialism, and also serves the people. If the products are poor in quality, there will not only be serious economic waste for the State and the people but politically, a direct adverse effect will be exerted on the preparations for war, the relationship between the State and the masses of the people, the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance, and the consolidation of the socialist economic base and proletarian dictatorship. This means departing from the whole and failing to meet the needs for "preparations against war, preparations against natural disasters, and doing everything for the people."

We must demonstrate a high sense of political responsibility of serving the people "entirely" and "completely" and take effective measures to continue improving product quality. To this end, it is first imperative to step up ideological and political work, raise the consciousness of the need to give serious attention to product quality on the part of cadres and workers alike, to continuously raise the technical level, and seriously enforce the scientific technology and operating processes. At the same time, we must set up and strengthen the needed inspection system for product quality and strengthen production control. We criticize those revisionist methods of relying on a few to "control, restrain and suppress" the masses

of workers. Far from dispensimg with quality inspection, we must set up and enforce the quality inspection system by closely relying on the broad masses. In short, we must grasp not only output but also quality, so that while achieving better results we will get greater results, get faster results while achieving better results, and achieve more economical results as well.

Correct Handling of Relationship Between Working Hard and Working Skillfully

Amid the upsurge of socialist revolution and socialist construction, the broad revolutionary masses are showing a new wave of enthusiasm and sky-rocketing zeal, and an abundance of socialist activism.

How can the activism of the masses be maintained? Here, a correct handling of the relationship between hard work and skillful work poses a vital problem.

Some comrades view hard work as working overtime and working on a crash basis. They think that great results can only be achieved in this way and only thus can politics be put to the fore. They view skillful work as "water in a distance which cannot quench present thirst" and as putting technology to the fore. This is incorrect.

Under certain circumstances, it may be possible and necessary to work on some crash programs. However, we must coordinate labor with rest; we cannot go on working on a crash basis. Human energy and the capacity of machine and equipment are always limited. Working human power and equipment to exhaustion will not be advantageous to maintaining the revolutionary activism of the masses, but will affect the normal operation of machines. To do so is not just to work hard but to work without regard of consequences.

In speaking of working hard, we mean that it is necessary to carry forward with the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death, and that we must work diligently for the building of socialism with sky-rocketing zeal and a strict scientific attitude. This should be led by ideological revolutionization, and it is necessary for us to find out the laws governing the development of production, to accumulate rich practical experiences, and to carry out an active struggle by skillfully mastering the operating processes and techniques. With such initiative in our hand, we can bring out our unlimited wisdom and creativity, effectively proceed with technical innovation, and ceaselessly raise the level of production. This is the reason why we say that working hard breeds working skillfully and that the formen is the foundation of the latter.

Similarly, working skillfully is inseparable from working hard. There is no successful technical innovation without repeated experiments, the consumption of a vast amount of effort, learning from failures, continuous summing up of experiences and ceaseless improvement. No one can invent or create anything if one is indolent and does not pay a high price in terms of physical and mental power.

Working hard and working skillfully are mutually related and complementary. Without working skillfully, no good results will come even if one works hard. We should integrate them. To work skillfully on the basis of working hard absolutely does not mean to put technology to the fore; rather, it means to bring the role of man into full play and to use politics to command technology. On the contrary, if we onesidedly view working hard as full exertion of physical power and have no faith in the wisdom and creativity of the masses, we cannot truly put proletarian politics to the fore.

In the field of technical innovation, the human factor also comes first. We must proceed from the realities of production, take the crucial problems of production into consideration, and unfold a mass movement on a huge scale. We must form "three-in-one" teams with workers as the mainstay and give attention to providing a full scope to the role of engineering and technical personnel. When carrying out experiments and research, we must pay attention to coordinating large and small projects and indigenous and modern methods. If only we mobilize the masses and make everyone act and think, we shall certainly be able to "discover something, invent something, create something, and move ahead."

In the case of the majority of innovations, quick results can be gained. It would be wrong to hold that "water in a distance cannot quench immediate thirst." Even if some projects do not produce quick results, they are necessary for the development of production from the long-range viewpoint, so that forces should also be organized to undertake them. When they are undertaken, it will be possible to bring about a new flying leap in production, in which case "water in a distance" can quench "immediate thirst."

Correct Handling of Relationship Between Commendation and Criticism

If we are to carry out ideological and political work well, we must correctly handle the relationship between commendation and criticism.

Though different in form, commendation and criticism are identical in purpose: to bring all positive factors into full play, overcome the negative factors, promote the proletarian ideas of the advanced, overcome all non-proletarian ideas, and organize a huge revolutionized production army. Advanced deeds and ideas among the masses which correspond to Mao Tsetung thought must be vigorously commended, publicized and spread, while erroneous ideas and practices among the masses must be criticized, analyzed and evaluated with Mao Tsetung thought, so that they may be overcome. If good things are not commended, they cannot be popularized; if bad things are not criticized, they are in fact condoned. Only by persevering in positive education and putting the main emphasis on commendation, to be supplemented by criticism, can we "promote the achievements made, correct the mistakes committed, and carry on the fighting with renewed vigor."

It is worthy of mention that certain comrades do not trust the masses; they do not criticize the erroneous tendencies and mistaken ideas that emerge in production; they do not put a stop to violations of labor discipline and rational rules and regulations; and they are even unconcerned about acts damaging State property. This results in encouraging the growth of an evil atmosphere, giving an opportunity to the class enemy to make mischief, and undermining the activism of the broad revolutionary masses with adverse effects on both the revolution and production. Such a liberalist attitude of giving up the responsibility is in essence to abolish the role of revolution in commanding production.

A genuine revolutionary leader must make clear his attitude. He must be brave in upholding the principle and in making criticism and self-criticism. Of course, such criticism must have a basis and attention must be paid to politics. Concrete analysis must be made in an appropriate manner and instead of denunciation and coercion, patient persuasion and education must be resorted to. This is a positive measure for cherishing the masses, caring for the masses and uniting with the masses; it is essentially different from, and must not be confused with, the measure adopted by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i to "control, restrain and suppress" the masses.

In the past some comrades did not trust the masses because they were influenced by Liu Shao-ch'i's theory "the masses are backward." Today, at a time when enterprise management must be strengthened in conformity with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, if they dare not boldly criticize erroneous tendencies for fear that the masses may complain against them, that will still be a manifestation of distrust of the masses. Whatever they do, they will first think of themselves. They fear this or that, but they are unconcerned if damage is done to socialist production. As a matter of fact, when they correctly criticize those erroneous tendencies in the interests of the broad revolutionary masses, they will be warmly welcomed by the working class. If they allow bourgeois ideas and harmful tendencies to develop unchecked in contravention with the interests of the working class, they will surely meet with discontent from the broad revolutionary masses. These comrades should firmly rid themselves of selfish and impure ideas, rely on the broad revolutionary masses, and positively take up the responsibility of making a success of production.

We must learn to look at problems in totality. We must not look at one side and neglect the other. When we are paying attention to one principal tendency, we must also give attention to the other, possibly concealed, tendency. This is true when it comes to solving the contradictions between revolution and production, output and quality, working hard and working skillfully and commendation and criticism. It is also true when it comes to solving other contradictions, for instance, between balance and imbalance, between requirement and possibility, between increased output and economy, between safety and efficiency, between production and livelihood, between industry and agriculture. We must strive to study Chairman Mao's brilliant

philosophical thinking. We must master and apply in the course of practical struggle the materialist dialectics of "one dividing into two," overcome one-sidedness, grasp revolution resolutely, promote production vigorously, and fight for the victorious fulfillment of the militant tasks for 1970.

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Seriously Grasp the Class Struggle in the Economic Realm

by

Chiang Hung (江虹)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 1, January 1, 1970)

At the moment, a struggle for beating back the bourgeois attack in the economic sphere is being unfolded. This struggle has a vital role to play in consolidating the system of socialist ownership, strengthening the proletarian dictatorship, resisting the onslaught of bourgeois sugar-coated bullets, and promoting ideological revolutionization of man.

"The carrying out of the class struggle in the economic sphere is mainly the concern of financial and trade departments which look after money and goods." This view is incompatible with the realities of class struggle.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "Class struggle exists objectively, and does not change according to the will of man. The struggle between the two classes and two roads in the economic sphere, like that on the political and ideological fronts, is present in various sectors of the national economy. Take industrial and communications sectors for example. The situation created by the small handful of class enemies who practice corruption and steal the property of the State and who are trying to undermine the foundation of socialism, is equally grave.

To go one step further, they trumpet the theory "to work on a large scale where profits are big, work on a small scale where profits are small, and do no work where profits cannot be made." They indulge in speculations to sabotage the State planned economy in a vain attempt to alter the socialist orientation of enterprises. They stir up the evil wind of anarchism and counter-revolutionary economism, create accidents, and sabotage production. They use sugar-coated bullets to corrode the revolutionary ranks with the vain object of usurping the leadership of enterprises. As the class struggle is so sharp and complicated in the economic sphere, how can we say that only the finance and trade front is concerned and there is "nothing to do with us"?

Why have some comrades failed to pay serious attention to such apparent class struggle? An important reason for this is that they do not have an adequate understanding of the significance of the class struggle in the economic field. It should be seen that the criminal aim of the small handful of class enemies to launch an economic offensive against the proletariat is definitely not merely to get some cash and goods, but to wreck the implementation of the great strategic policies--"grasping revolution and promoting production" and of "preparedness against war and natural disasters and doing everything for the people"--thus sabotaging the whole cause of socialist construction and destroying the economic

foundation of proletarian dictatorship in a vain attempt to restore capitalism. For this reason, we must view the class struggle in the economic sphere from the height of consolidating the proletarian dictatorship.

"Won't the class struggle in the economic sphere interfere with struggle-criticism-transformation?" Facts show that if we plan to do our work methodically, grasping the class struggle will not hamper but, instead, will greatly facilitate the successful fulfillment of struggle-criticism-transformation tasks in other fields.

To conduct the class struggle in the economic sphere is to persist in the socialist orientation of enterprises, to consolidate the economic foundation of proletarian dictatorship, to deal heavy blows at the small handful of class enemies who sabotage socialist ownership, to further criticize Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and to insure that the leadership of enterprises is firmly held in the hands of genuine Marxists. This is precisely a vital component of the struggle-criticism-transformation campaign.

To conduct the class struggle in the economic sphere will facilitate the further screening of class ranks. Many problems exposed by this struggle show that where the economic problems are grave, there the political situation is relatively complicated and a small handful of class enemies are making mischief. By grasping this struggle well, it will not only be possible to expose and strike at the small handful of grafters, thieves and speculators but also to continue to dig up the tiny handful of hidden class enemies.

To conduct the class struggle in the economic sphere will be beneficial to the deep development of revolutionary mass criticism. Up to now some people are still influenced by the remnant poisons of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line--such as "profits in command," "material incentives" and "management of factories by specialists"--spread by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i. For instance, is it not true that some people are full of praise for those "who have such business acumen and ingenuity as to pass any test and obtain whatever material is needed"? They think that these people have "ability," "know how to handle people," and "are indispensable as purchasers and salesmen."

What "ability" do these people have? The "ability" to do evil things. The "ability" to undermine the foundation of socialism. The "ability" of the bourgeoisie, pure and simple. The more things they do, the greater the damage is done to the socialist cause.

Within the revolutionary ranks, some comrades are also affected by this bourgeois wicked style. This is extremely harmful. Why do they take such bourgeois tactics as "ability"? Because they cannot distinguish between the proletarian way of thinking and the bourgeois way of thinking, between communist cooperation and capitalist deals, between socialist planned economy and capitalist liberalization, and between the socialist

road and the capitalist road. Through carrying out the class struggle in the economic sphere, we are enabled to further perceive the danger of the remnant poisons of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, better coordinate the characteristics of various fronts--such as the industrial and communication front--with our own practical ways of thinking, penetratingly develop the revolutionary mass criticism, and raise our consciousness of the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines.

To grasp the class struggle in the economic sphere will help the reform of irrational rules and regulations. In this struggle we have clearly seen that a small handful of class enemies are trying to undermine socialist rules and regulations and disintegrate the socialist economy in all conceivable ways, either by making use of the illogical rules and regulations or by making use of certain loopholes in the regulations or by carrying out incitements on various excuses.

This tells us that to grasp this struggle well will help us discover problems, close the loopholes, and improve business management. Illogical rules and regulations must be eliminated while the inadequate ones must be strengthened and the reasonable ones upheld. Only thus can we truly represent the masses and act in conformity with the basic interests of the proletariat.

To grasp the class struggle in the economic sphere will also help us step up the revolutionary education among youngsters. At present, one of the ignoble tactics used by the extremely small number of counter-revolutionary elements in carrying out their disruptive activities is to use the means of economic corrosion to spread the decadent bourgeois world outlook with the forlorn hope of inducing a small number of young people to take the evil road so as to serve their counter-revolutionary activities. By grasping the class struggle in this sphere well, we shall be able to greatly raise the communist consciousness of some young people and to expose a tiny pack of bad people.

In short, grasping the class struggle in the economic sphere conforms to the various tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation. It is definitely not true for some comrades to think that class struggle in the economic sphere does not fit in with the struggle-criticism-transformation campaign. Indeed, class struggle in the economic struggle must be grasped, and must be put in an appropriately vital position in overall planning. Naturally, the concrete way in which the struggle is waged must also depend on the different rate of progress achieved in various areas and units in order to work out practical arrangements.

"To conduct the class struggle in the economic field means to get some comrades to examine the accounts, to draw up an inventory of stocks and expose several people." This is a reflection of the purely economic viewpoint.

Surely, accounts must be checked, stocks must be taken, and where there are elements indulging in corruption, theft and speculation, they must be brought to book. However, our main purpose in unfolding the class struggle in the economic sphere is, through the struggle against the enemy and through revolutionary mass criticism, to dig up the poisonous roots of bourgeois ideas, to promote the ideological revolutionization of man, to master the financial power and consolidate political power.

All this means to say that in the midst of this serious class struggle, we do not just fight an economic battle; we fight mainly a political struggle--a struggle waged by the proletarian world outlook to overcome the bourgeois world outlook. Why is it that the notion "money is all powerful" is still present in the minds of certain people? Why is it that the ghost of counter-revolutionary economism still has not disappeared in some areas? It is because these things of the exploiting classes still have a market. Why is it that some people are still hit by bourgeois sugar-coated bullets? It is not because they are given charge of cash or stocks or are doing economic work, but because their souls have been corroded by bourgeois and revisionist worms. It is only when we in the course of this struggle put proletarian politics to the fore, expose and criticize the crimes of the class enemies in sabotaging the socialist economy and corrupting the revolutionary ranks, educate the broad revolutionary masses, and raise the consciousness of the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines that we can build an ideological great wall against revisionism and for the prevention of revisionism, resist corrosion by it, block the capitalist road, and smash the bourgeois and revisionist offensives.

In unfolding the class struggle in the economic sphere, as in revolutionary war, "we can wage war only by mobilizing and depending on the masses." The worker masses, tempered by the great proletarian cultural revolution and armed with Mao Tsetung thought, are viewing the storm of the class struggle while working in their workshops. They have the most passionate love for the socialist system and the most inveterate hatred for those class enemies who try to sabotage the socialist production, the socialist planned economy, and the socialist system of ownership. Having a high degree of consciousness of the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and a strong sense of smell, they have a record for every move made by the class enemies.

As long as the masses are truly mobilized, the small handful of class enemies will have no way to escape and ideas of exploiting classes will be swept clean by the storm of the revolutionary mass criticism. And the broad revolutionary masses will surely in this struggle further raise their consciousness, strengthen their capacity of immunity, and realize revolutionization of their thinking.

In unfolding the class struggle in the economic sphere, there is another theory which must be criticized: "Corruption, violations of law and waste have nothing to do with class struggle."

Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: "Corruption and waste are extremely grave crimes." Waste is similarly a tactic used by the bourgeoisie to attack the proletariat. A small pack of class enemies often deliberately create waste and squander State money and asset in order to disrupt socialist construction. Moreover, under the cover of waste, they fish in troubled waters and practice corruption and larcenies. They also do their best to spread the bourgeois habit of extravagance in order to corrupt the revolutionary ranks ideologically. If we are indifferent to practices of waste and take them for granted, then the needs of the class enemies will be met objectively. How can we say that waste has nothing to do with class struggle?

Chairman Mao has taught us: "Our country of six hundred million must strive to increase production and practice economy, and oppose extravagance and waste. This will have not only a vital economic significance but also a vital political significance." To smash the attack of the class enemies in the economic realm and resist the raids by bourgeois sugar-coated bullets, and to maintain a correct political orientation, it is imperative to wage a resolute struggle against all acts of waste, vigorously create the revolutionary public opinion of taking industry and economy as glory and extravagance and waste as a shame, promote the proletariat's fine style of hard work and plain living, and carry the revolution through to the end.

We must bear in mind Chairman Mao's great teaching that "we must never forget class struggle" and recognize the protractedness and complexity of class struggle. Simultaneously with grasping well the class struggle on the political and ideological fronts, we must grasp well the class struggle on the economic front, seriously execute the various proletarian policies of the Party, make a strict distinction between two different types of contradictions, unite with all forces that can be united with, and isolate to the maximum and strike at the small pack of class enemies. By so doing, we can greet the advent of the glorious year 1970 with splendid achievements in "grasping revolution, promoting production, promoting work and getting prepared against war."

(The author of this article is a working personnel of the Kiangsu Provincial Revolutionary Committee)

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Triumphantly Forge Ahead Along Chairman Mao's Line in Party Building

by

Mao Tsetung Thought Propaganda Team of 8341 Detachment Stationed in "February 7" Locomotive and Rolling Stock Plant of Peking

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Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's great call "United to win still greater victories," and the 9th CCP National Congress, which has a profound and far-reaching historical significance, a movement for Party consolidation and Party building is being vigorously developed.

To build our Party in line with Chairman Mao's proletarian line in Party building so that it will become even greater, more glorious, and more correct is a basic, major issue in consolidating the victorious achievements of the great proletarian cultural revolution and strengthening preparedness against war and a question of fundamental importance for a hundred years in strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "The Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy." This is a great program for carrying out Party consolidation and Party building.

This glorious 50-character teaching of Chairman Mao is the most scientific summation of the experience of our Party in Party building for the last several decades. It is also a great contribution to the Marxist-Leninist theory on Party building. It clearly defines the class foundation of our Party as the proletariat. It points out our Party is composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat who are armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. It leads the broad revolutionary masses, identifies itself with the masses, and serves the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people. It is the vanguard of the proletariat in the struggle against the class enemies. It is a party with great vigor in the inner-Party life, exercising democratic centralism. It profoundly summarizes the nature and leading role of our Party in five basic fields--class foundation, advanced thought, mass line, class struggle, and inner-Party life.

Fierce class struggle exists in the course of carrying out Party consolidation and Party building in line with Chairman Mao's "50-character" program. A handful of class enemies who will not take their defeat lying down are sure to plot against this program and undermine it. We should never think that Party consolidation is aimed at resolving the problems

within the Party and thereby relax our vigilance against the class enemies. Within our ranks, there also exists the sharp struggle between the proletarian thought and the bourgeois and petty bourgeois thought. The essence of the struggle is the question of who holds the leadership. The struggle is focused on the question of whether or not the leadership of the Party is needed, and on the questions of how to build the Party and what kind of Party we have to build. It involves the question of whether we should build the Party according to the image of the proletarian vanguard or transform the Party according to the image of the bourgeois and the petty bourgeoisie.

Resolutely maintaining and strengthening the leadership of the Party is the fundamental guarantee that the work of Party consolidation and Party building will advance triumphantly along Chairman Mao's Party-building line. "Divorced from the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, any revolution will fail." The leadership of the Party is the leadership of Chairman Mao, the leadership of Mao Tsetung thought, and the leadership of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

The leadership of the Party is achieved through a Party organization. It is achieved through a Party organization which leads the broad revolutionary masses to implement the line, principles, and policies charted by Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Every party branch must reconsolidate itself in the midst of the masses and not merely a few Party members; it is necessary to have the masses outside the Party attend the meetings and give comments."

This strikingly embodies Chairman Mao's mass line in the question of Party building. To thoroughly implement this instruction of Chairman Mao, it is necessary to boldly arouse the masses to conduct open-door Party consolidation.

To carry out open-door Party consolidation, it is essential to strengthen the leadership of the Party, and incessantly raise the awareness of the Party members and the masses of the leading role of the Party. It is necessary to trust the masses and rely on the masses, and also to guide them and educate them to oppose interference from the right as well as from the "Left." The interference from the Right is manifested by the idea which oppose the implementation of the Party's mass line in the course of Party consolidation. Some claimed, "Party consolidation is an inner-Party business, the masses have no right to interfere!" Such an idea, which set the Party leadership against the Party's mass line, is by no mean aimed at strengthening the Party leadership but is a reflection of the thinking of a small number of people who do not trust the masses and are afraid of them. This shows that the remaining poisonous influence of the theory that "the masses are backward" pushed by the renegade, hidden traitor, and scab Liu Shao-ch'i has not been completely eliminated. If we act according to this kind of thinking, we will be unable to hear the good opinions among the

revolutionary masses, the task of Party consolidation and Party building will be divorced from the masses, and the Party leadership will lack a solid mass basis.

Some people, seriously influenced by anarchism and bourgeois factionalism, negate the Party leadership from the "Left." They said: "We old rebels are the most revolutionary and most advanced, we must lead the task of Party consolidation and Party building, and we must be regarded as the foundation in carrying out this task." This idea is extremely wrong.

The Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat and is the highest form of organization of the proletariat. The Party should exercise leadership in everything. Our Party was founded and has been nurtured personally by the great leader Chairman Mao; it is a great, glorious, and correct Party. Through the great proletarian cultural revolution Mao Tsetung thought has further armed the entire Party, cleared the Party of bad elements, and tempered the Party members. As a result, the Party has become purer and more vigorous, has greater fighting capacity politically, ideologically, and organizationally, and is more capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in struggling against the class enemy.

Some of our comrades have come to regard themselves as "most revolutionary, most advanced," because they had made some contributions during the great proletarian cultural revolution. This shows that they are unable to view themselves correctly, and that they lack the spirit of remolding oneself. Others have desperately exaggerated the role of the broad mass organizations, incorrectly handled the relations between the mass organizations and the Party, and tried to put them above the Party organizations to contend with the Party for leadership. This is an expression of reactionary anarchism, syndicalism, and "the theory of many centers, that is, the theory of no center." To use them as the "foundation" to transform the Party means to degrade the Party organizations from the level of a vanguard to the level of a mass organization.

The two mistaken ideas of the Right and the "Left" are in fact aimed at transforming the Party according to the outlook of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao wisely pointed out long ago: "In the circumstances it is our duty to jolt these 'comrades' and tell them sharply, 'That will not work! The proletariat cannot accommodate itself to you; to yield to you would actually be to yield to the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie and to run the risk of undermining our Party and our country. Whom then must we yield to? We can mold the Party and the world only in the image of the proletarian vanguard."

To build the Party in the image of the proletarian vanguard, we must follow Chairman Mao's teaching: "To put things in order organizationally

requires our first doing so ideologically, our launching a struggle of proletarian ideology against non-proletarian ideology."

To put things in order ideologically and the task of ideological building require us to mobilize the broad Party members and the masses to conscientiously study Chairman Mao's proletarian concept on Party building; study Vice Chairman Lin's political report to the 9th CCP National Congress; study the new Party constitution; thoroughly criticize and repudiate Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line in Party building, his sinister book "Self-Cultivation," and his sinister "Six Theories;" criticize and repudiate various erroneous tendencies that run counter to Mao Tsetung thought; arm the masses of Party members with Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; and draw a clear-cut line between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, between the socialist road and the capitalist road, between the proletarian world outlook and the bourgeois world outlook, and between the Party spirit of the proletariat and bourgeois factionalism.

Vice Chairman Lin pointed out in his political report to the 9th CCP National Congress: "Departing from the dictatorship of the proletariat and from continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is impossible to solve correctly the question of Party building, the question of building what kind of Party and how to build it."

We must, by putting things in order ideologically and through ideological building, enable our Party members to become vanguard fighters continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and build our Party organizations into strong bastions for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, thereby further strengthening the Party leadership and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We must repeatedly emphasize the proletarian Party spirit and oppose bourgeois factionalism. The proletariat Party spirit, viewed from the standpoint of a world outlook, means "the Marxist-Leninist approach of uniting theory and practice." Without this scientific approach "the Party spirit is either absent or deficient."

In strengthening the proletarian Party spirit, we must strengthen the proletarian revolutionary spirit, scientific approach, and sense of organization and discipline. Revolutionary spirit is synonymous with class spirit; scientific approach is synonymous with theoretical approach; and sense of organization and discipline is synonymous with fighting spirit. We must put Mao Tsetung thought in command of everything and use it to observe everything, uphold the principle of the proletarian Party spirit, and do a good job in putting things in order ideologically and in carrying out the task of ideological building. Otherwise, we will be influenced by bourgeois factionalism and the task of Party consolidation and Party building will be led astray.

To do a good job in putting things in order ideologically and in ideological building, we must conduct necessary investigation and research of the conditions of the Party ranks and the political and ideological situation of our Party members and use the dialectical "one dividing into two" to make a concrete analysis. We must oppose the tendency of regarding everything either as all positive or as all negative.

Those comrades who regard everything as positive hold that, as a result of the great cultural revolution over the past three years, Party members have all faced the world and braved the storm and that it is no longer necessary for them to put things in order ideologically. They fail to see that class struggle is a protracted and complex struggle, that the poisonous influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line has not been fully eliminated, and that bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas in society still erode our Party. We should help these comrades to free themselves from the influence of the theory of "the dying out of class struggle" and the theory of "inner-Party peace" and firmly establish the idea of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Those comrades who regard everything as negative see only the shortcomings and mistakes of the Party members and desperately exaggerate them. If in dealing with these comrades we fail to give them proper guidance, we cannot help Party members develop their achievements, correct their mistakes, and stimulate their fighting spirit.

By conducting a mass study program, mass criticism,and class education in our Plant, we have resisted these two tendencies, raised the consciousness of Party members of the importance of continuing the revolution, and taken a firm hold of the task of encouraging Party members to combat self-interest and criticize revisionism.

"Materialist dialectics holds that external causes are the condition of change and internal causes are the basis of change, and that external causes become operative through internal causes."

In combating self-interest and obtaining help from the masses, it is important for the Party members themselves to consciously make revolution. We want our Party members to treat the masses correctly, that is, to sincerely seek the opinions of the masses, humbly accept their opinions, and resolutely correct their own mistakes.

To be "sincere" means that we must sincerely conduct self-criticism and not allow things to pass perfunctorily. To be "humble," we must let the masses speak up and truly open the window to let in fresh air. To be "resolute," we must correct our mistakes with a keen sense of revolutionary responsibility. When Party members have succeeded in these three respects, the masses will be deeply impressed so that when the time comes for them to help the Party members the masses will be enthusiastic in offering suggestions, patient in rendering assistance, and confident in the Party members' ability to correct their own mistakes.

A veteran worker said: "If we treat Party members with sincerity, humility, and resoluteness, and vice versa, the external cause will promote the internal cause. We will then make revolution together and the Party and the masses will be linked heart-to-heart. In this way, the two unities will be achieved: One is unity within the Party, and the other is unity between the Party and the masses.

When Party members "fight self-interest," we would ask them to grasp the essential points, search their souls, bring out problems in the matter of lines, look for causes in their world outlook, find answers in Chairman Mao's works, and implement these answers. We oppose such empty talk as "endless reasoning without touching on anything substantial." We oppose the idea of weathering the storm by "wearing a big hat with a broad brim to hide one's face and to protect oneself from storm weather." We also oppose the irresponsible practise of summing up by "we will struggle against anyone you name and will let no one slip through our fingers." When the Party members are evaluated by the masses, we must actively guide the masses to help the Party members with a correct attitude. We must pay attention to the major issues and the main aspect of things and watch their development. We must not make any concessions in matters involving principles nor get ourselves entangled in unimportant matters. We must not overlook any difference even though we may be looking at things from the same viewpoint, nor must we intentionally make things more difficult when we hold different views.

A worker remarked: "We will never act as 'ticket inspectors' guarding certain checkpoints; we must be propagandists of Mao Tsetung thought and actively promote its dissemination."

In the current Party consolidation, each and every Party member should consciously and voluntarily combat self-interest and criticize revisionism," and welcome comments by the masses. Should anyone insist that this is a form of "passing a test," well, it is a socialist revolutionary test and one that has to be passed by everyone.

In building the Party after the image of the proletarian vanguard, we must carry out organizational consolidation and building in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching "getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh." After carrying out ideological consolidation and building. We should oppose the "Left" trend of "getting rid of and taking in people" on a large scale, as well as the conservative trend of "getting rid of and taking in nobody." We should also oppose the erroneous trend of "getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh" based on bourgeois factionalism. We must oppose these three trends before we can reserve the progressiveness and purity of a proletarian Party in the process of its consolidation and building.

We must not fail to note that the overwhelming majority of Party members are good or relatively good. Most of those who have committed mistakes can be corrected through education. Those who must be gotten rid

of amount to only a very few. We should act in accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching on trusting and relying on the majority and allow the overwhelming majority of good or relatively good Party members to resume their Party life after going through the process of "fighting self-interest and criticizing revisionism" and of being evaluated by the masses. We should then rely on them to establish close contacts with the masses and effectively uphold the Party principle and policy of "getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh."

"Getting rid of the stale" is a task which involves a deep question of policy. We must strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions, draw a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves, and also between the advance elements of the proletariat and the general masses. We must not treat a Communist Party member as an ordinary civilian. Those coming under the category of a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy must be resolutely expelled from the Party regardless of whether we handle the case as one of a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy or as one of a contradiction among the people.

In dealing with Party members who have committed mistakes, including those who have committed serious mistakes, we must follow the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones," and "curing the sickness to save the patient." We must also follow the principle of being strict in ideological repudiation and being lenient in applying organizational disciplines, in order to unite with and educate them. Those who cannot maintain the standard of Party membership despite patient and meticulous educational work must not be allowed to remain in the Party. As for the very small number of Party members with serious problems, suitable disciplinary action must be taken. It is wrong to punish indiscriminately, but it is also wrong to gloss over mistakes like "a sweep of the wind," without reference to principles. There is also a small number of people whose political background cannot be determined at once and whose serious mistakes cannot be forgiven by the masses immediately. Such cases must not be summarily dealt with, but should be temporarily "shelved," pending a systematic settlement after careful work. After all, in applying organizational discipline, we must "take a cautious attitude," and rely on cooperation between the leadership and the masses for the prevention of excessive strictness or leniency.

Among some of the Party members and the masses in our "Seventh of February" Plant, the idea of "getting rid of and then forget him" emerged for a time. However, we did not act this way. Motivated by the desire to turn all negative factors into positve ones, we permitted everyone to participate in the Party consolidation study classes who was not a target of our dictatorship. The Party members and the masses helped them through meticulous ideological work. This gave the Party members a better realization of the meaning of "getting rid of the stale." Experience has proved the effectiveness of this method. Greatly moved, those who erred said: "In order to reserve the purity of the Party, it is entirely proper to expel us from the Party. Hereafter, we must carefully reform ourselves

and always follow the Party." We also permitted some people to join the study classes even though they had not made a clean breast of serious errors in their political backgrounds. By intensifying our efforts to win their hearts with our policy, we gave them one more chance to choose the road of "leniency to those who confess their errors." Thus we coordinate our task of Party consolidation with that of purification of class ranks, giving impetus to the latter task.

Some people said: This is right deviationism. This is incorrect, and these people do not understand the dialectical relationship between principles and flexibility. They do not realize that in so doing we are adhering to our principle of resolutely "getting rid of" those who should be "gotten rid of" and at the same time carrying out Chairman Mao's concept of winning over and uniting with the majority and his strategic concept of struggling against the enemy.

"Taking in the fresh" must be actively and seriously carried out strictly according to the stipulations of the new Party constitution. The advanced proletarian elements, particularly the advanced elements of the industrial workers who have been tested in the stormy weathers of the revolution, must be unquestionably admitted into the Party. In the case of those who have not as yet achieved the required standard, we must actively train and encourage them to meet the requirements. It is wrong to take an indifferent attitude towards them, but it is equally incorrect to lower the standard to suit them. This applies to the masses in general as well as to the representatives of the masses in the revolutionary committees.

We must help a number of comrades overcome such erroneous ideas as: "We are entitled to join the Party because we have won merits in rebellion," "we should be admitted into the Party because we are leading members of the revolutionary committee," and "in recruiting Party members, each faction should be represented by one member." These ideas do not conform to Chairman Mao's Party building line. In fact, their purpose is to change our Party's character as the vanguard of the proletariat. The contention that anyone who is a leader should be eligible for Party membership or the "theory of becoming an official in order to join the Party," is only a carbon copy of Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of joining the Party in order to become an official." As to the "representation of each faction by one member" for the purpose of maintaining a balance between two different factions, would this not turn our Party into an organization consisting of different factions? We must firmly adhere to our stand of proletarian Party spirit and strictly follow the stipulations of the new Party constitution concerning Party membership requirements. We must not place "fear" above everything or admit unqualified persons into the Party with such excuses as "work requirements," "we must consider our relations with others, or it is for the convenience of the leadership."

In the course of organizational consolidation and building, the most important thing is to establish good leading groups. Party power is the core of political power; it is "the power of all powers," as the

masses put it. Party power must be firmly in the hands of Marxists-Leninists loyal to Chairman Mao before the gains in Party consolidations and Party building can be consolidated, implementation of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line guaranteed. And the dictatorship of the proletariat strengthened. We must fully arouse the masses by taking the mass line, and selecting outstanding Communist Party members to participate in the leading groups. As for the new leading groups, they must continue to attach foremost priority to strengthening ideology, strengthening education in Mao Tsetung thought, the frequent launching of active ideological struggles, and the revolutionizing of ideology so as to give full play to their role as fighting command posts.

Party consolidation and Party building is an extremely important political task confronting us; we must firmly and properly grasp this task so that our Party will be further armed with Mao Tsetung thought, more closely united around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao with the Vice Chairman Lin as the deputy leader; conscientiously implement the various fighting tasks set by the "9th Congress;" strengthen preparedness against war; and more effectively lead the people throughout China in socialist revolution and socialist construction, in struggles against imperialism, revisionism, and reaction, and in winning still greater victories.

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Chairman Mao's Brilliance Illuminates the Snowy Mountains Forever

by
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(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 1, January 7, 1970)

As we enter the seventies of the great 20th century, we emancipated serfs, standing on the summit of the snowy mountains and with our hearts facing the city of Peking, loudly sing: The snowy mountains of the Tich'ing Highland faces the east, we come to the snow-covered mountains to pick a lotus for the red sun. The red hearts of us emancipated serfs are all loyal to Chairman Mao. Oh, Chairman Mao, may you live a long, long life!

During the militant sixties, all emancipated serfs of our production brigade closely followed the great leader Chairman Mao, and resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. In accordance with Chairman Mao's great teachings--"Rely on one's own efforts," "Brave hard and bitter struggles," and "In agriculture learn from Tachai"--we fought against the class enemies, against Nature, against soil, won one victory after another, and began to transform the poor and backward look.

Our Hsinlien Production Brigade nestles among snow-covered mountains and deep gorges on the Tich'ing Highland in Yunnan province on the southwest frontier of the fatherland. All the 221 households in our brigade, which has 1,213 people in all, are Tibetan. Before liberation we lived under the darkest, the most reactionary and the most ruthless oppression and exploitation by feudal serfdom. The mountains and land belonged to the serf-owners and so did the serfs. The broad masses of serfs were not allowed to speak their minds or to move from one place to another. We worked from before dawn deep into the night to grow thousands of piculs of ch'ingk'o [barley], but we fed on buckwheat husk mixed with melted snow. We wove plenty of rugs, but were clad in rags. Of all roads, there was no road for the serfs to survive.

The east is red and the sun rises. In the spring of 1951, members of the People's Liberation Army, our kinsmen sent by Chairman Mao, came to the Tich'ing Highland. Chairman Mao's brilliance illuminated the snow-covered mountains and deep gorges. The chains binding the serfs were shattered, and the emancipated serfs became the masters. We organized a militia company to make revolution with guns. In coordination with the Chinese People's Liberation Army, we suppressed rebellions and the bandits, completely overthrew the reactionary feudal serfdom and carried out democratic reform. We implemented agricultural cooperation in 1960 and embarked on the socialist road.

Emancipated from misery, we serfs regarded the great leader Chairman Mao as dearest to us. After implementing agricultural cooperation, we firmly carried out the general line of building socialism by going all out and aiming high to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results. Persisting in "relying on our own efforts" and "braving hard and bitter struggles," we were resolved to fight against Nature and soil and build a new socialist countryside among the snow-covered mountains and deep gorges.

In the past decade, particularly since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we have built 30 big and small irrigation ditches totaling more than 90 kilometers on the snow-covered mountains for irrigating our farmland. We have also terraced 1,500 plots of farmland covering a total area of 721 mow and built more than 50,000 cubic meters of stone ridges in the fields. We thus ended the backward slash-and-burn farming method and raised the aggregate grain output from 290,000 catties in 1960 to 1,020,000 catties in 1969. The number of big and small animals increased from 846 to 1,726 during the same period. Expansion of production brought about increases in the public accumulation fund and the grain reserves year after year.

We have built a 80-kilowatt power plant and a radio rediffusion network to bring Chairman Mao's voice to every village. The brigade had no school in the past but has now nine primary schools run by the people. There is a health center in the brigade, and every production team has its own "barefoot doctors."

In the past ten years, a sharp and complicated struggle between the two classes, two roads, two lines ran through the building of the new socialist countryside amidst the snow-covered mountains and deep gorges.

I became the Secretary of the Hsinlien Production brigade Party Branch in 1960. At that time, the agricultural producer cooperatives had just been set up. Because output was low, quite a number of households had not enough grain for consumption and had to be subsidized by the state. Should we rely on the state indefinitely, or should we rely on our own efforts, struggle under difficult conditions, and overcome the barren hills and wild torrents to develop agricultural production? This was a question bearing on whether or not agricultural cooperatives could be consolidated, a question of the struggle between the two classes, two roads, two lines in rural construction.

The Party branch of the brigade led the broad masses of emancipated serfs to study over and over again Chairman Mao's great teachings: "Rely on one's own efforts," "Brave hard and bitter struggles," "Poverty gives rise to the desire for change, the desire for action and the desire for revolution."

It urged members of the brigade to change the poor and backward look with the spirit of "the foolish old man who removed the mountains." Harboring boundlessly profound proletarian feelings for Chairman Mao, the broad masses of emancipated serfs followed Chairman Mao's instructions, transformed Nature and soil and built a new countryside. They declared: "Chairman Mao has liberated us and the PLA men have dyed this place red with their blood and lives. Now that the mountains and rivers are ours, it is our duty to safeguard and reconstruct them."

"Water conservation is the lifeblood of agriculture." In the light of this teaching of Chairman Mao's, we gave priority to the construction of irrigation projects and decided to build the 12-kilometer-long Hsinlien canal half way up the snow-covered mountains. When the plan was put forward, a capitalist roader said: "You have neither capital nor technical skills. How can you build a canal?" He also slandered the project as "a waste of labor and money" and forbade the construction of it. Some individuals with conservative ideas also said: "Rock is not mud. If this canal could be constructed, you could put a rope through my nose and treat me like an ox."

At that time, we studied again and again the "three constantly-read articles" so as to arm the masses with Mao Tsetung thought. The broad masses declared: "The family of the 'foolish old man' could remove two mountains. We emancipated serfs armed with Mao Tsetung thought certainly can make the ancient snowy mountains bow their heads and the ancient glaciers make way."

Despite the severe winter cold and frozen ground, we braved the wind and snow, and holding high the red banner, we went to erect camps in the snow-covered mountains. As we had no surveying instruments, we used the method of leading water to a section of the canal as soon as it was dug, to substitute for surveying. As we had no explosives, when we hit hard rocks, we used firewood to burn a blazing fire on the rocks and then poured cold water on them to crack the rocks. Then we pried out the big rocks bit by bit. Depending on a red heart and a pair of hands, everybody dug ceaselessly with a pick in the mountains. After two winters and two springs of fighting, we finished the 12-kilometer-long canal and brought water down from the snowy mountains.

With the slanders of the capitalist roader smashed and the broad masses educated by facts, the mass movement to build irrigation facilities gathered momentum. In a few years, we brought most of the farmland under irrigation and changed the old situation of virtually no harvest in nine out of ten years of drought. Seeing that one after another canal was constructed half way up the mountains, the emancipated serfs remarked with joy: "Those are not springs but are pure white ha-ta presented by us to the great leader Chairman Mao."

In 1964, with Chairman Mao's brilliant instruction that "in agriculture learn from Tachai" relayed to the brigade, it seemed as though the red sun rising above the summit of the snow mountain had brought light to the hearts of the emancipated serfs. The Party branch led the masses to study again and again Chairman Mao's great instruction. They knew that in order to

learn from Tachai, it was necessary to show their boundless loyalty to the great leader Chairman Mao, to study and apply creatively Chairman Mao's works and to bring the revolutionary spirit of "self reliance" and "arduous struggle" into play. Meanwhile, they summed up their own experience and decided to terrace the fields on the snowy mountains.

The capitalist roaders threatened us: "Since you can't till well the existing fields on the hillslopes, how can you reclaim wasteland? If you act recklessly, the state will not be responsible when you are hungry." The class enemies in society also maliciously spread rumors saying: "Should the divine mountain be molested in the course of terracing the fields, the mountain god would punish men and animals with death."

We struggled against the class enemies and ignored the threats of the capitalist roader. With the militia as the leading group, we stepped on to the divine mountain which nobody dared to molest for thousands of years, and reclaimed 30 mow of terraced fields. After that, an on-site conference was convened, and the experience was popularized throughout the brigade. A high tide in learning from and catching up with Tachai was thus whipped up. The broad masses of emancipated serfs freed their minds of superstition, emancipated themselves ideologically, and removed the "pile of scripture propagation rocks" which had for hundreds and thousands of years been regarded as inviolable for the construction of field ridges and terraced fields.

In the Hsianghung Production Team, a 75 years old emancipated serf named Wengchi organized a group of nine "foolish old men." They terraced fields on the steep slopes of the snowy mountains for a number of years in succession. They carried rocks to build field ridges as they studied the "three constantly-read articles" for several years in succession without a break. They terraced more than 30 mow of fields, and the biggest plot was eight mow in area. Old Wengchi alone wore out twenty picks and a twelve-pound hammer. The masses called him the "living foolish old man" and the terraced fields reclaimed by the nine old men as "foolish old men's fields."

In the past, because of the exploitation and oppression of the serf owners and the backwardness of farming methods, for hundreds of year we knew only to cultivate barley and buckwheat, and the yield was very low. Now by building water conservation projects and terracing the fields, we are able to plant wheat and maize and have reaped bumper harvests in successive years. Leading a happy life, every emancipated serf smiles and is grateful to Chairman Mao.

The raging fire of the great proletarian cultural has universally heightened our class consciousness and consciousness of the struggle between the two lines. Armed further with Mao Tsetung thought, the masses have become a mighty force in transforming Nature. During the past three years, we persevered at all times in grasping revolution, promoting production and taking the road of Tachai. Using the soaring enthusiasm inspired by the great proletarian cultural revolution in the struggle for production, we built twice as many irrigation projects and terraced fields as before the great cultural revolution.

The emancipated serfs of the brigade long wanted to build a power station. However, a handful of capitalist roaders slandered us saying: "It is just day-dreaming for the slaves who feed on parched barley to want to run a power station." In the great proletarian cultural revolution, we fiercely criticized renegade, traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary contrabands such as the "mentality of creeping along at a snail's pace," the "philosophy of survival," and the "theory of the backward masses," and made up our minds to build a power station.

In 1968, we quarried more than 1,800 cubic meters of rock for use as material for constructing the power station and we built ditches and the generator house. Following this, braving snowstorms and the bitter cold, we crossed a snow-covered mountain 4,300 meters above sea level and brought back a generator weighing more than 800 kilograms, plus more than 6,000 kilograms of equipment for the power station. Guided by master workmen, we designed and installed ourselves an 80-kilowatt hydro-electric power station, thus enabling every family in the seven production teams of the brigade to be fitted with electric lights and loudspeakers. On April 1, 1969, the power station began to generate electricity, and the red electric current relayed the happy news of the convening of the 9th National Party Congress under the auspices of Chairman Mao himself. The emancipated serfs were so excited that they played guitars and danced in front of the power station shouting again and again: "Long live the great leader Chairman Mao and a long, long life to him."

Three of the villages in our brigade are separated by two big snow-covered mountains. It used to take several days for the commune members there to reach the brigade headquarters. They had to cross snow-covered mountains, gorges and cliffs. Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, 90 percent of the people in these three villages had never been to the brigade headquarters. We repeatedly proposed building a road from the headquarters to the three villages, but the capitalist roaders said: "It is basically impossible to build a road across cliffs." They told the masses of the three villages to move to other places saying that those villages were not fit for habitation. The masses of those villages declared: "We were born at the frontierland and we live there. So long as we are alive, we want to follow Chairman to build the frontierland." They also denounced the capitalist roaders and asked: "Should all the people of the frontierland move to the hinterland, how are we going to build socialism in the frontierland?"

The great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself brought the ideological realm of the emancipated serfs to a new high, and their revolutionary zeal to fight against Nature was brought into full play. For the sake of opportunely relaying and implementing Chairman Mao's latest instructions, we immediately organized 60 militiamen to fight a bitter battle and build a sixty-meter-long iron-chain suspension bridge across the Tungwang River. By blasting away 16 dangerous spots along the cliffs of the snow-covered mountains, a 32 meters long road was finally thrown open to traffic along the cliffs. The people of the three villages who had for hundreds of years been marooned on the other side of the snow mountains were

able to go forward along the new road. Everywhere along the road, they could see the glittering portraits of Chairman Mao and read his quotations. The joyful emancipated serfs called this road the "Sun-Facing Road." They sang: "The Sun-Facing Road reflects the radiance of the morning sun into the valleys. Chairman Mao's brilliance will shine over the snow-covered mountains forever, and the emancipated serfs will forever take the road pointed out by Chairman Mao."

Under the wise leadership of the great leader Chairman Mao, we have won a great victory. However, the revolutionary road is very long and we can never be complacent with our achievements. We must forever closely follow Chairman Mao forward and continue with the revolution. In the new year, we are resolved to act in accordance with Chairman Mao's great policy of "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people," go on bringing into play the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, arduous struggle and fearing neither hardship nor death, grasp the revolution and promote production, make a success of all kinds of work, and win still greater victories.

* * *

Fighting All One's Life for Defending Chairman Mao's Revolutionary Line

by

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a factory girl of the Northwest State-Owned Cotton Mill No. 1, Shensi

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 1, January 1, 1970)

As we enter the seventies of the 20th century to fight a new battle and win still greater victories, we textile workers, who are boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao and, filled with profound proletarian feelings, shout again and again: Long live the great leader Chairman Mao! Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line!"

The year 1969 was a year in which Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line continued to win victories. The 9th Congress of the Party was successfully convened, the people all over the country rallied even more closely around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice Chairman Lin as the deputy leader, the mass movement for the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought increased in breadth and depth, and a heroic and solid new high tide in industrial and agricultural production was whipped up. A thriving revolutionary scene likewise appeared in our mill. The broad working masses swiftly heightened their consciousness of the continuation of the revolution. Yarn output rose again and again and the daily output was 14 percent higher than the peak output in 1967. All this was a great victory for Mao Tsetung thought, a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

The great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao himself has greatly raised the consciousness of us workers in the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, and have given us a clearer mind and sharper eyes. Looking back over the course of the battle, we understand profoundly that Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is the lifeblood and source of happiness of us working class, that it most centrally represents the fundamental interests of the masses of the people, and that it most centrally embodies the determination and demand of the proletariat and the broad masses. The loss of it is equivalent to the loss of our root, the loss of political power, the loss of the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, and the loss of the future of mankind. The highest fighting task of us working class is to defend Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

"Sailing the seas depends on the helmsman, and making revolution depends on Mao Tsetung thought."

The Constitution of the Communist Party of China adopted by the 9th Party Congress clearly provides: "The Communist Party of China takes

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the theoretical basis guiding its thinking." This is a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in the struggle between the two lines within our Party, a great victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution. The whole history of the Chinese revolution proves that the question of attitude toward Mao Tsetung thought is a basic question of defending Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. We have a profound understanding of this question.

In 1963, not long after the passing away of Comrade Chao Meng-t'ao, a national labor model and a representative of the 8th Congress of the Party, a sharp struggle between whether proletarian politics or production should be brought to the fore appeared in our mill. The center of the struggle was the attitude toward Chairman Mao's works. At that time, because renegade, traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i opposed Mao Tsetung thought, boycotted and undermined Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the capitalist roaders opposed our studying Chairman Mao's works. They said: "Do you still want that Chao Meng-t'ao advanced group? Production is realistic but study is unrealistic. Can you rely alone on study to become advanced?" We sternly replied: "To see whether one is advanced or not, it is first necessary to see whether one brings proletarian politics to the fore. Without studying Chairman Mao's works and without bringing proletarian politics to the fore, merely grasping production would lead one astray." The capitalist roaders were dumbfounded.

The working class nursed with Mao Tsetung thought loves most to read Chairman Mao's books and is most mindful of what Chairman Mao says. All workers declared: "It is all right for us to go without food and sleep, but no matter what you may say, we will never agree not to study Chairman Mao's works." From that time onward, our group used its spare time to persevere in the living study and application of Chairman Mao's writings every day. The more we studied, the firmer our correct political bearings; the more we studied, the higher our revolutionary enthusiasm.

Mao Tsetung thought is the most important weapon for us to carry out revolution and construction. The fountainhead of strength in defending Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line lies in living study and application of Chairman Mao's works. In the struggle between the two classes, the two roads, the two lines, our group went through this incident:

With a new high tide in industrial and agricultural production whipped up all over the country in 1964, the comrades of our group were determined to accelerate the building of socialism, spin more yarn for the revolution, and take the lead in increasing the number of looms and spindles in the whole factory. Liu Shao-ch'i and his agents, however, employed such revisionist contrabands as "material incentive" and "bonus in command" in a vain attempt to corrupt and disintegrate the ranks of our working class. As soon as the capitalist roaders of the mill came to our group, they said: "Work conscientiously and you will be rewarded for your increasing the number of looms." Hearing this, the workers were very angry and they firmly replied: "We spin more yarn for the Chinese revolution, for aiding the world revolution and for bringing glory to Chairman, but not for reward."

The capitalist roaders also said: "Increasing the number of looms will be rewarded according to the system." What a "system"!

What was after all such a system? With the question in mind, the comrades of our group studied over and over again Chairman Mao's great teaching that "political work is the life-blood of all economic work." Chairman Mao's works are highest in prestige and most powerful. Every word in them is truth and points out the direction for us. The workers came to understand that "reward for increasing the number of looms" was not the proletarian system but the fetters of counter-revolutionary revisionism. "Material incentive" and "bonus in command" paid you money but were actually the sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie. Our group returned the "reward for increasing the number of looms" which the capitalist roaders arbitrarily offered us. This was the best action in defense of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, a powerful criticism and repudiation of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. We also advocated "increasing the number of spindles for spinning yarn for the revolution without asking for reward," and put forward the militant slogan: "With the spindles in our hands and the revolution in our minds, we survey the whole world from the workshop." These revolutionary actions immediately won the firm support of the revolutionary workers of the whole mill, and the capitalist roaders had no alternative but to abolish the "reward for increasing the number of looms."

At the crucial moment of the struggle between the two classes, the two road, the two lines, so long as we are loyal to Chairman Mao, Mao Tsetung thought and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, we have inexhaustible strength and are invincible.

When the whole country was swept by the stormy "January revolution," a handful of class enemies at Hanyang area in Shensi province frenziedly undermined the great policy of "grasping the revolution and promoting production" advanced by Chairman Mao" and they sabotaged the great proletarian cultural revolution. A capitalist roader in our mill incited people saying that suspension of production was a "revolutionary action" and forced us to turn off the machines. Confronted by this sharp and violent class struggle, we recited over and over again Chairman Mao's great teaching: "You must pay attention to state affairs and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end." We recalled again and again the man-eating old society, the grievous history of our families, and our miserable childhood. Especially when I recalled the happy scene of my seeing Chairman Mao on a number of occasions, I was full of confidence in victory. We lived and died fighting in defense of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. We firmly declared: "Grasp the revolution and promote production" is the great leader Chairman Mao's wise teaching. The workshop is our combat post and we can never leave it for one minute! Suspension of production is definitely not a "revolutionary action" but sabotage, and we can never be fooled by the class enemies! Under the guiding light of Mao Tsetung thought, our group and the broad revolutionary masses clung to their posts, braved the perverse wind, united to fight the wicked waves, fought continuously for more than 30 hours, and once again defended Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Our consciousness of the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines was raised continuously in the course of making living study and application of Chairman Mao's works. The living study and application of Chairman Mao's works by one more man would add to the strength in defense of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In accordance with Chairman Mao's great teaching that "our cadres must show concern for every fighter and all members of the revolutionary force must show concern for, take good care of and help each other," our group advocated that "no class sister should be allowed to drop to the rear." This won the warm response of the revolutionary workers throughout the mill.

To insure that "no class sister should be allowed to drop to the rear," every comrade of our revolutionary force must consciously make living study and application of Chairman Mao's works, forever be full of vigor and vitality, continuously march forward, and never desert the formation of the working class for making living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought and for defending Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. We brought the communist spirit into play. Everybody carried out ideological work, helped the backward comrades catch up with the advanced, and showed warm concern for the maturing of the young workers so as to raise continuously their political consciousness and technical level. This not only insured the success of the revolution and production, but also brought forth a group of reliable successors loyal to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

In order to be an advanced fighter defending Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, one must continuously raise one's consciousness of the class struggle, the struggle between the two lines, and the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Cadres must not divorce themselves from the masses, from labor and from reality. This is an important problem in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

When the 9th National Congress of the Party was in session and Chairman Mao discussed some basic-level comrades who were elected new members of the Central Committee, he repeatedly taught: "Attention must be paid to insuring that they are not divorced from the masses and production and that they must work." Every word of Chairman Mao's warm-hearted teaching is glittering like a lamp that brings light to my heart. I have thus understood further Chairman Mao's wisdom and greatness and the unsurpassed correctness of his proletarian revolutionary line. We workers' representatives must for the rest of our lives adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, and never divorced ourselves from labor and the masses.

On the day I left Chairman Mao and returned to the mill after the successful conclusion of the 9th National Congress of the Party, it was already past ten o'clock at night. But as soon as I put down my knapsack, I put on the overall and joined the battle together with my class sisters. In the past few months, every time I went to another place to study or returned from a meeting, I persisted in taking part in productive labor.

I also rushed back to the mill to take part in labor on holidays when I went to Sian to attend a meeting. In practice, I have come to understand profoundly that I must not divorce myself from labor and the masses before I can share the feelings of the masses, opportunely understand and grasp the new tendency of the class struggle, boycott the corrosion of bourgeois ideas and fight to defend Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line the rest of my life.

"We walk with outstretched chests and the precious books in our hands. We set our eyes on the whole country and the whole world. We spin thousands of silvery threads every day to aid the liberation of the five continents." In the new year, we must closely unite around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice Chairman Lin as the the deputy leader, hold higher the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works in the course of struggle, make a success of the ideological revolutionization of men, exercise a tight grip of revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, energetically grasp the revolution and promote production, and win a new and still greater victory.

* * *

Be Pupils of Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants All One's Life

by

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Holding high the banner of unity and victory of the 9th National Congress of the Party, the 700 million people of China have sent off the eventful year 1969 and entered the magnificent seventies of the 20th century. As we greet the new year, we sincerely wish the great leader Chairman Mao a long, long life.

In 1964, I took up educational work upon my graduation from the normal school. Over the past five years or more, guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, I have, together with the revolutionary teachers and students, done some work and gained something in the matter of persisting in putting education in the service of proletarian politics, of integrating education with productive labor, of training successors to the revolution with Mao Tsetung thought, and of waging struggle against the revisionist educational line. We have taken the first step along the road of forming one with the worker-peasant masses. In 1969, as I attended the celebrations of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the people's republic, I saw for the third time our great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arm Vice Chairman Lin. This was the greatest glory and happiness in my life.

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "How should we judge whether a youth is a revolutionary? How can we tell? There can only be one criterion, namely, whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and does so in practice." On the question of forming one with the masses of workers and peasants, I have proceeded from unconsciousness to greater consciousness, from superficial integration to gradual transformation in thought and feeling, and have gone through the process of fighting against the old forces of habit in the old society and combating "self" in my mind.

At first, I had a muddled idea in my mind. I thought that since I came of a poor peasant's family and was working in the countryside, there was no question of my having integrated myself with the poor and lower-middle peasants.

Is it true "there is no question"? I have been educated by facts.

On one occasion, I went to Shangwenwan Brigade to help wage struggle against the enemy. Together with the poor and lower-middle peasants, I found in a family of landlord status some weapons and account books for use in the event of a change in political climate. Among the

articles discovered, there was a tattered notebook which was covered with words written in a mess. At that time, after leafing through a few pages of it, I threw it away into the wastepaper pile and paid no attention to it. At that time, some poor and lower-middle peasants picked up this notebook and read carefully through it. They discovered that the notebook contained some extremely reactionary slogans, and they waged struggle against the landlord element on the spot. His numerous criminal deeds were thus exposed. The poor and lower-middle peasants discovered big problems from the notebook which I thought had no problems. This incident gave me a profound course of education. I myself came of a poor peasant's family, but why were my eyes not as sharp as those of the poor and lower-middle peasants? And why was my scent not as effective as theirs? Why was my notion of the class struggle not as strong as that of the poor and lower-middle peasants? This showed that my view of "there is no question" was obviously wrong.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In the course of building socialism, everybody ought to be transformed. The exploiters must be transformed and so must the laborers." My coming of a poor peasant's family and working in the countryside can only show that I have better conditions for integration with the poor and lower-middle peasants. But this cannot "guarantee" the revolutionization of my thought. Things are evolving and changing. My transformation from a poverty-stricken child in the old society to a teacher of the people is itself a big change. But I saw only the phase of my being educated by poor and lower-middle peasants in the family, but not my phase of my being corrupted by the revisionist educational line in the school. I saw only the phase of my living in the countryside, but not the phase of my divorcement from the poor and lower-middle peasants and from labor. In short, I saw only my own revolutionary aspect but not the aspect of my needing transformation. This idea of "born red" was in essence a reflection of renegade, traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of the dying out of the class struggle." This made me understand the more the necessity of my re-education by the poor and lower-middle peasants.

In the course of being re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants, I came across the question of how to handle correctly illness. As early as 1959, I had suffered from a duodenal ulcer. I underwent an operation and had three-quarters of my stomach removed. In addition, I was suffering kidney debilitation and had serious malfunction of the nervous system. For a long time I could take only three or four ounces of rice a day. My comrades said that I was only "half alive." The poor and lower-middle peasants and the revolutionary teachers and students constantly took good care of me. They told me not to take part in labor. Therefore, I was ideologically classified under the category of "the old, the weak, the sick and the disabled."

On this question, I was also educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants. There was an old poor peasant who suffered from meningitis, but several days before his death, he still performed manual work in the team. As he was about to die, he summoned his family members to his bed, and

told them to study Chairman Mao's works and make recollections and comparisons. He taught his whole family to follow forever the lead of Chairman Mao.

Many deeds made me understand that there was also the struggle between two kinds of ideology and world outlook in the matter of dealing with illness and difficulties. Should a person find it difficult to form one with the poor and lower-middle peasants because of poor health, he should not be sick mentally just because he was physically ill. He could never allow his illness to affect his consciousness in having himself re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants, and could never waver in his determination to take the road pointed out by Chairman Mao.

Because of this, I seldom went home during the winter and summer vacations, and I always persisted in taking part in labor together with the poor and lower-middle peasants. I carried out transplanting and harvesting together with the poor and lower-middle peasants, and I perspired together with them. I went where there were hardships and dangers and I braved the storm to steel my red heart. By way of doing manual work, I came to understand that the most important thing in whether or not one could form one with the masses of workers and peasants was not a question of physical fitness, but a question of attitude and ideology.

The transformation of the world outlook is a basic transformation and the change of thought and feeling is a fundamental change. In the course of doing manual work, I discovered that my own thought and feeling were still way different from those of the poor and lower-middle peasants. Taking dung picking for example, although this is a common-place thing, yet when I carried the dung basket and went to the fields to pick dung, I always felt that it was quite honorable of me not to feel shy nor detest filth. Later, I dug deep into my mind and discovered that behind the sense of "honor", there also was hidden a sense of difference of the intellectuals. I also had picked dung back home when I was young. Why didn't I have such a sense of "honor" at that time? The reason that I had this sense of "honor" was that I regarded myself as a teacher, an intellectual, and was therefore different from the masses. Seen superficially, I could be considered as having integrated myself with the poor and lower-middle peasants since I also carried a dung basket like the poor and lower-middle peasants. Actually, I was far removed from the poor and lower-middle peasants in thought and feeling.

On another occasion, I went to Liuchiawan production team to dry grain together with an old poor peasant. At the end of a day of work, I felt that I learned much by doing a day of manual work together with the poor and lower-middle peasants. As I thought in this way, that old poor peasant suddenly took up the broom and swept carefully the drying ground which I had just finished sweeping. Holding up a handful of grain, he told me purposefully: "Young Ai, although this seems to be just a handful of grain, yet if everyone of the 700 million people in the country wastes such a handful of grain, think how much grain is involved. In a collective of today, because it is big in size, one or two handfuls of grain may mean

nothing, but in the old society, we poor people treasured each grain. At present, the young students pay not much attention to this and you teachers should give them a good course of education." Every word the old poor peasant spoke touched me to the soul. My face and ears were hot with shame. We did manual work in the same way, but how high the ideological realm of that old poor peasant was toward labor! From one handful of grain, he thought of the collective, the 700 million people, the new and old generations, and posterity.

Chairman Mao points out: "At present, there are also some people going to factories in the countryside, but as a result, some gain something while others gain nothing. In this connection, there is a question of stand or a question of attitude, in other words, a question of world outlook." From such things as carrying the dung basket and sweeping grain, I have come to learn deeply that in the matter of integration with poor and lower-middle peasants, the fundamental question is one of integration in thought and feeling. Without any change in thought and feeling, what is called integration is only in form and what is called transformation is also only empty talk.

With my thought and feeling changed, I cherished the poor and lower-middle peasants even more fervently. Their happiness was my happiness, and their difficulty was also mine. When some poor and lower-middle peasants had no firewood for their stoves, I helped them chop firewood, and when there was no water in their water containers, I helped them carry water. Most of the students in our school were children of poor and lower-middle peasants, and my feeling for them was also my feeling for the poor and lower-middle peasants. When their buttons fell off from their coats, I replaced the buttons for them in the middle of the night. When they were ill, I treated them with medicines which were always available. When the river was high in spring and summer, I went to the river bank every morning and evening to look after the pupils. I went to the homes of the pupils who had been absent to help them make up their lessons. Because of my affection for the poor and lower-middle peasants, the latter also took good care of me. They regarded me as their own son. When I had shortcomings, they patiently helped me, and when I was sick, they came to make inquiries and showed warm concern for me.

Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, I had been given some leading posts, but because of selfish ideas and because I felt that I was incompetent and poor in health, I was unwilling to assume such responsibility. Although I submitted to what was assigned me on a number of occasions, yet an ideological struggle took place every time. Why was it that this question appeared again and again despite uninterrupted struggle and victory? Chairman Mao teaches: "The complete transformation of the world outlook takes a very long time." This wise instruction of Chairman Mao's tells us that ideological remolding cannot be effective in one day.

Later, I associated my thought with what the poor and lower-middle peasants told me when I took part in labor on one occasion. They said that attention should be paid to removing the "returning weeds" because such

weeds absorbed a great deal of nutrients from the soil, affected the crop most, and were most stubborn. The commune members hoed them day after day and month after month, but they grew ceaselessly. Were there not such "returning weeds" as the bourgeois ideas in our minds? The spirit of the poor and lower-middle peasants in persisting in hoeing again and again should especially be adopted toward the "poisonous weeds." Only by ceaselessly studying Mao Tsetung thought, ceaselessly combating "self" and criticizing revisionism, and ceaselessly submitting ourselves to re-education could we "weed" away the old ideas in our minds.

In 1965, in accordance with the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao, we revolutionary teachers and students of the Shihpant'an Middle School, backed by the poor and lower-middle peasants, carried out some teaching reforms. In my own class, I chopped away those feudal, bourgeois and revisionist contents taught, and added some lessons in Mao Tsetung thought and class education. I invited the old poor peasants who knew misery and hate to the school to give lectures and to recall their past miseries. I compiled stories of the village and families for use as political teaching material and as supplementary material for teaching language. I led the pupils from the school to the fields and barren mountains to participate in productive labor and carry out scientific experiments. But this failed to change the look of the school fundamentally.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has insured the complete implementation of the revolution in education. After the school comes under the management of the poor and lower-middle peasants, it has been run as a new type of school that brings proletarian politics to the fore and integrates theory with practice in accordance with Chairman Mao's series of instructions concerning the revolution in education. In conformity with practical need and the view of the poor and lower-middle peasant, we have run "barefoot doctor", tea-planting and forestry classes. The revolutionary teachers and students are pleased, and the poor and lower-middle peasants are satisfied.

From the course I have traveled myself, I come to understand profoundly that the poor and lower-middle peasants are my best teachers and that before the poor and lower-middle peasants, I am forever a pupil. Guided by Mao Tsetung thought and re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants, there is wisdom in the revolution, there is the road forward, there is strength in struggle and there are vigor and vitality in life.

The beginning of the new generation means the beginning of a new battle. I am resolved to take another step forward in the living study and application of Chairman Mao's works, have the poor and lower-middle peasants re-educate me the rest of my life, ceaselessly heighten my consciousness in the continuation of the revolution, and make a success of ideological revolutionization. I will forever be loyal to Chairman Mao, closely follow Chairman Mao, regard the defense of Chairman Mao and his revolutionary line as my sacred duty and contribute my whole strength toward realizing the proletarian revolution in education.

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Liberal Arts Colleges Must Undertake Revolutionary Mass Criticism

by

Shanghai Writing Group of Revolutionary Mass Criticism

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 1, Jan. 1, 1970)

Revolutionary mass criticism must be conducted on various fronts, particularly in colleges of liberal arts.

Chairman Mao teaches us: Students "must also criticize the bourgeoisie." He has also stated: A college of liberal arts must take the whole society as its factory. The society is one of class struggle, and taking the society as a factory means linking up liberal arts closely with the class struggle in society and with the criticism of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, revolutionary mass criticism is not only a basic task for socialist colleges of liberal arts but presently an urgent militant task for the reform of old colleges of liberal arts. We should not only criticize the bourgeoisie in society but also conduct revolutionary mass criticism into various liberal arts in order to criticize the reactionary bourgeois ideological systems in the fields of philosophy, history, literature, political economy, journalism, and education. Only thus can the old colleges of liberal arts be given a new life through criticism.

However, at present there still are in colleges of liberal arts a tiny pack of people who not only refuse to carry out revolutionary mass criticism themselves but also prevent others from doing so. While viewing the tense battles in the great struggle-criticism-transformation by the hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers and hearing the ferocious sound of the billows of revolutionary mass criticism, they are creating all sorts of negative opinions. They say such things as "revolutionary mass criticism has no place in liberal arts colleges," "the articles on mass criticism in the newspapers have nothing to do with our specialities," etc. In sum, they mean to say: Our college of liberal arts is a sacrosanct and regular "academy," and mass criticism has nothing to do with specialized "academicians." So, you had better leave it to the workers, peasants and soldiers!

Is the college of liberal arts a quiet place where "books are read behind closed doors," or is it a battleground for the study and practice of Mao Tsetung thought and the criticism of the bourgeoisie? This question of orientation related to the educational revolution in colleges of liberal arts must be discussed and clarified.

One school of thought says: "The carrying out of revolutionary mass criticism is an irregular thing." What is a "regular thing"? The Communist Manifesto stated long ago: If the proletariat does not overthrow those parts of the old superstructure which the bourgeoisie uses to oppress the proletariat, it cannot raise its head nor straighten its back. After the great proletarian

cultural revolution, the proletariat can indeed straighten its back and raise its head in colleges of liberal arts. But to truly take it over and reform it with Mao Tsetung thought calls for arduous work.

What these people mean by "regular" is to restore the old patterns prior to the great proletarian cultural revolution by filling the time table to the full, by having teachers cram book knowledge into the minds of students, by having students engross themselves in copying things, and by allowing bourgeois ideas to spread unchecked in schools. Such "regular" college of liberal arts will not serve the proletariat at all. Why should the proletariat set it up?

"We have to do research, so we have no time for mass criticism." This is a muddled viewpoint, to say the least. The line, principle, policies and methods for the proletarian educational revolution have been clearly laid down by Chairman Mao. In this respect, we do not need you to do any more "research." If you speak of how to seriously execute this line, principle, policies and methods and to sum up concrete experiences from practice, then, one of the indispensable things to do is to carry out the revolutionary mass criticism.

What does a college of liberal arts do? It studies Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought. "However, many among us use methods to study Marxism which are directly contrary to Marxism." They are not aware that theory must be related to reality. We study Marxist theory in order to solve practical problems, to carry out the class struggle and the struggle for production, and to criticize the bourgeoisie. Learning and application are unified. A college of liberal arts must without exception apply the fundamental principle pointed out by Vice Chairman Lin: "One must study Chairman Mao's works with specific problems in mind, study and apply them in a creative way, combine learning with application, learn the essential things first, and achieve quick results. One must exert arduous efforts at 'application.'" Lecturing in a classroom and reading a book are merely one aspect of teaching and learning in a college of liberal arts; the more important aspect is learning in the course of applying, learning in the course of struggle, and learning in the midst of revolutionary mass criticism.

Naturally, we do not generally oppose the holding of classes. In future, new colleges of liberal arts must hold classes and will have to compile some teaching material. But all this must be coordinated with revolutionary mass criticism. Without revolutionary mass criticism, we can neither hold classes well nor compile good teaching material. Some people bypass revolutionary mass criticism when they compile teaching material. This is the way in which they do it: With scissors plus paste, they turn a thick book into a thin book but retain the erroneous viewpoint intact alternatively, and deliberately avoid the analysis and criticism of major problems. Even worse, instead of approaching their work in a proper way, they collect hearsays everywhere, put them together, print their material privately and sell it privately. Making hundreds of errors, they deceive not only themselves but also others, and they will also be used by the small handful of class enemies. This is actually an attempt to set up "private publishing houses" the bourgeoisie has been dreaming of.

If you want to lecture on the history of contemporary literature, you cannot explain clearly Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art and Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist black line on literature and art without criticizing such persons as Chou Yang, Hsia Yen, T'ien Han, and Yang Han-sheng. Whether you teach philosophy, history or economics, if you do not criticize and repudiate the bourgeois ideological system on the subject concerned, you cannot teach it well, and of course you cannot compile good teaching material on that subject.

Colleges of liberal arts produce a revolutionary force for the propagation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought--proletarian fighters on the ideological and cultural fronts. How can we form such a force? Can we rely on the old classroom of the closely sealed tin type? No. Historical experience of the class struggle tells us that proletarian forces are formed, and can only be formed, in the course of class struggle. In fact, no proletarian forces with fighting strength can be formed without class struggle or revolutionary mass criticism. We need a force for the criticism of the bourgeoisie, for carrying on the combat. If we do not use the force for combat, do we use it as a musical band at a funeral service? Can we produce such a force simply by teaching in the classroom?

Those who can recite Marxist theories correctly word for word in their examination papers but who are easily poisoned by a bourgeois novel and go down in defeat, are definitely not proletarian fighters. There is only one standard for us, and that is whether one serves the proletarian politics and the workers, peasants and soldiers or serves the bourgeois politics and the exploiting classes, and whether one can overcome the bourgeois attack or be defeated by the bourgeoisie on the ideological and cultural fronts. Without undertaking revolutionary mass criticism, colleges of liberal arts cannot produce proletarian fighters but will only produce bourgeois "academicians."

It is necessary to resolutely smash the old concepts of a "college." A force of revolutionary literary and art workers that emerged in the course of the work of Comrade Chiang Ch'ing in fostering revolutionary model operas under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, has reformed, tempered and improved itself in the course of the acute class struggle, in the course of developing in a penetrating and sustained manner revolutionary mass criticism in connection with artistic practice--in the course of criticism against the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and foreign and conventional dogmas, and in the course of detailed scientific criticism against a number of ancient and contemporary, Chinese and foreign works with the help of Mao Tsetung thought.

Such criticism involves not only the acute class struggle but also fruitful study and self-transformation, and is concerned with analysis, criticism and learning on the basis of suiting ancient things to present-day purposes, using foreign things in a Chinese way, and weeding out the old to let the new emerge. Aren't there more than several thousand, nay, several tens of thousands of talented people for creating revolutionary public opinion who have emerged from the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers

through revolutionary mass criticism and other revolutionary practice during the great proletarian revolution? Those who stress "regularization" are most strongly opposed to forming writing groups in colleges of liberal arts. However, thousands of writing groups of workers, peasants and soldiers have played their role as the main force in the struggle for criticism of the bourgeoisie, and provided valuable experiences for the educational revolution on liberal arts. Isn't this a fact? Why should they get angry at the mention of the new-born things of the proletariat? Should they not think deeply for a while?

A small number of people who call for "regularization" most energetically are often most infatuated with life in old-type colleges of liberal arts. In the past they knew not how to go about productive labor, they were incapable of telling fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds, and they did not carry out investigation and research. But it would be wrong to say that they have no ability at all. They are capable of compiling lectures and delivering them in the classroom. If you felt that their lecture sheets had turned yellow, they felt that the older they were, the more fragrant these sheets became! Such "ability" of theirs we must criticize and then use. But we still hope that these people will put down their airs, honestly go among the masses to learn from the workers, peasants and soldiers, seriously transform their thinking, learn afresh, and thoroughly liquidate all bourgeois poisons of old-type colleges of liberal arts. Only thus is it possible to do something of value for the people. If they still wanted to bring out those "regular patterns" of old-type colleges of liberal arts, they would certainly find themselves in a blind alley.

"The articles on mass criticism in newspapers have nothing to do with our specialities." True, old-type colleges of liberal arts were divided into many departments, including philosophy, history, literature, economics, journalism, education, etc. Even in the same department, further divisions might be set up. Take Chinese history for example. It might be divided into ancient history, modern history, and contemporary history. And ancient history might still be divided into the history of the early Ch'in dynasty and the history of Ch'in and Han dynasties. Chinese history is so long that it may always be divided into periods.

There was a professor who taught history of the early period of the Ch'in dynasty. But he did not have a complete knowledge about this history; he knew only the history of Yin and Shang dynasties. Yet he did not have a complete knowledge of the Yin and Shang dynasties, for he knew only hieroglyphics; and even of hieroglyphics, he did not have a complete knowledge either. He knew only how many pieces of oracle bones the country had and where they were stored.

How much good could such a "specialist" who knew so little do for the people and the state? True, he could do a little useful thing, and that was that he could find where the oracle bones were stored. But this is definitely not the orientation for our proletarian education.

Do you stress division of specialities? Yet the class struggle and the attack of the bourgeois ideas have never been conducted according to the division of specialities. Recently, there was a technician of a gas company in a certain place. Trying to reverse the verdicts on the bourgeoisie in Shanghai, he "broke the door and dashed out" regardless of any division of specialities, and launched an attack in the form of literature against the proletariat. Why, then, should the proletariat be restricted in its criticism against the bourgeoisie?

If you insist on speaking of division of specialities, what specialities belong to the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers? But in the course of revolutionary mass criticism, they have played the role as the main force. To be sure, it is also necessary to make a success of revolutionary mass criticism in one's department. For every speciality, there is the task of using Mao Tsetung thought to criticize the bourgeois world outlook and reform the old curriculum. However, this does not mean that mass criticism must be limited to the speciality concerned. So far as a proletarian fighter is concerned, revolution occupies the first place, and so does the criticism of the bourgeoisie, while the division of specialities takes the second place. The sound of gunfire is the order. Can it be that, because the bourgeois offensive is not directed against our speciality, we can sit back and relax?

While we acknowledge the need for appropriate division of specialities, we also oppose excessively refined division of specialities, and especially we oppose the tendency to regard division of specialities as above everything. In fact, to have excessively refined division of liberal arts is a metaphysical gimmick played by the bourgeoisie, and an attempt to restrict the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in order to make young people's thinking onesided.

Practice shows that the development of science requires the mutual coordination of various specialities; this is particularly true of liberal arts. In the course of revolutionary mass criticism, to onesidedly stress division of specialities is not to strengthen the concerted fight for the great goal of proletarian dictatorship, and we cannot attain the aim of concentrating superior forces to annihilate the enemy.

"If the leadership does not make clear its intention, no task can be clear." How can the intention of the leadership be made "clear"? Our great leader Chairman Mao has all along taught us that we must pay serious attention to the struggle on the ideological and cultural fronts. In the "Circular" issued by the Party Central Committee, Chairman Mao had already laid down for us a clearcut militant task: "Hold high the great banner of the great proletarian cultural revolution, thoroughly expose the bourgeois reactionary stand of that group of so-called 'academic authorities' who oppose the Party and socialism, thoroughly criticize the bourgeois reactionary ideas in the academic, educational, journalistic, literary and art and publishing circles, and seize the leadership in these cultural spheres."

Since the great proletarian cultural revolution was started, we have carried out a violent struggle and done a huge amount of work. But have we

completed the task of "thorough criticism" against the bourgeois reactionary ideas? Where the literary and art front is concerned, Lu Hsün had in those years already criticized the four representative characters of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line in the literary and art circles--Chou Yang, Hsia Yen, T'ien Han, and Yang Han-sheng. But have we criticized them with thoroughness? No, we have not. Isn't this a "task"? It can be seen that the question is not whether the leadership makes clear its intention or not, but whether we really want revolutionary mass criticism or pretend to want it.

"We are going to leave any way. Why should we bother about revolutionary mass criticism!" When they say they are leaving, they are actually lying. What they really are after is bourgeois individualism. They have been supported materially by the workers, peasants and soldiers for so long that they should do something beneficial for them. Is it true that when they leave, they need not bother about revolutionary mass criticism? Can they avoid transformation of their bourgeois world outlook? No, they cannot. No matter whether you go to the factory or to the countryside, and even if you change 360 occupations, you still will have to take part in revolutionary mass criticism and face the question of transformation of world outlook. "Gentlemen, please do not play the music of the previous dynasty;" the decadent bourgeois individualism has no future in socialist society.

Revolutionary mass criticism in colleges of liberal arts must be led by the working class, and the masses must be fully aroused. Wherever possible, these colleges may work with the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants in revolutionary mass criticism. The workers Mao Tsetung thought propaganda teams must resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's instruction: "The workers propaganda teams must stay in the schools permanently, take part in the overall struggle-criticism-transformation task in the schools, and lead the schools forever." To fulfill this great historical task, the workers propaganda teams should understand the history of the struggle between the two classes and two lines on the ideological and cultural fronts.

The class struggle and the two-line struggle on the ideological and cultural fronts are extremely sharp and complicated. However, the working class and the revolutionary intellectuals armed with Mao Tsetung thought will surely be able to temper and improve themselves in the storms of revolutionary mass criticism, and they will be brave and good at struggle. Let us raise higher the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, unite with all revolutionary forces that can be united with, penetratingly unfold revolutionary mass criticism, and strive to truly transform the colleges of liberal arts into great, red schools of Mao Tsetung thought!

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A Party Branch Which Links Itself Closely with the Masses

- report on an investigation in the Party branch of the tools workshop of Chuchou Vehicles Factory

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 1, January 1, 1970)

In the tools workshop of Chuchou Vehicles Factory, there are 37 Party members, or 20.5 percent of the total number of workers and cadres. Helped and led by the Mao Tsetung thought propaganda team of Chuchou Municipal Revolutionary Committee stationed in this factory and by the CCP nucleus group in Chuchou Vehicles Factory, and following great leader Chairman Mao's teaching, "Every Party branch must reorganize itself among the masses," the Party organization in this workshop was rectified. A new Party branch was set up in December 1968, taking in fresh blood from the proletariat.

"The fundamental principle of the Communist Party is that it relies directly on the broad masses of the revolutionary people." In the past year, guided by Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Party branch mobilized the Party members and the workers to creatively study and apply the series of Chairman Mao's latest directives, thereby changing the Party branch into a fighting citadel which linked itself closely with the masses.

Leading the Revolutionary Masses to Fight the Class Enemies

When the Party branch was established, some people held that "the purification of the class ranks is near completion, the Party has been rectified, the Party branch has been set up, so that we can relax." The Party branch vigilantly felt that this idea showed that the masses did not have a strong concept of the class struggle, had lost their revolutionary vigilance and lacked the spirit of continued revolution; it realized that whether or not the class struggle would be grasped was a basic problem concerning whether or not the Party branch could lead the revolutionary masses to accomplish various fighting tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation and whether or not it could carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian line of Party building.

Bearing in mind the class struggle in the factory and in the workshop, the Party branch relentlessly criticized renegade, traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of dying out of class struggle." In the course of struggle against the enemies, the Party members and the broad revolutionary masses continuously enhanced their consciousness of the struggle between the two lines and went on their initiative to launch attacks one after another on the class enemies. They got together to point out the doubtful points, to find out the clues and to launch a powerful political offensive, and eventually dragged out a handful of class enemies hiding very deeply in the dark.

There was in this workshop a bad element whose background had not been clearly investigated because he had been transferred to outside posts many times. Some of the masses thought that all his problems had been revealed.

This fellow pretended to be an activist, so as to hoodwink some of the masses. Obeying Chairman Mao's teaching, "Never forget the class struggle," the Party branch made an all-round analysis of this man and sent some Party members to his home many times to propagate the Party's policy and to enlighten him with the Party's policy. Meanwhile, it sent three other Party members to the countryside to make further investigations. In the countryside, they joined the poor and lower-middle peasants in transplanting seedlings and learned things from them, winning vigorous support from them. After repeated investigations, they got iron-clad evidence and mobilized the masses to expose the sabotage activities carried out by this fellow during the great proletarian cultural revolution. This so-called "old worker," who had not been clearly investigated on several occasions was found to be an active counter-revolutionary.

The Party branch paid constant attention to educating the Party members and the broad revolutionary masses and continuously applied Mao Tsetung thought in observing the new trends of the class struggle. For some time, the class enemies took advantage of the bourgeois factionalism among some comrades in our ranks, incited the anarchical ideas, opposed the Party's leadership, sowed dissension between the Party members and the masses, violated the proletarian revolutionary discipline, and sabotaged the policy of grasping revolution and promoting production. Taking hold of this trend, the Party branch promptly organized the Party members and the masses to conscientiously study Chairman Mao's teaching, "Once revolutionary discipline is strengthened, the revolution will invariably be victorious," and to seriously carry out the directives about strengthening the proletarian Party spirit and overcoming the bourgeois factionalism as given by the Party Central Committee with Chairman Mao as the leader and Vice Chairman Lin as the deputy leader. They criticized the reactionary, bourgeois "theory of many centers, that is, no center," and defeated the attacks launched by the class enemies, thereby greatly strengthening their proletarian Party spirit.

Following Chairman Mao's great strategic idea, "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people," the Party branch regularly educated the Party members and the workers in the situation of the international sphere, mobilized them to disclose and indict the crimes committed by US imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, thus making them see more clearly their aggressive nature, strengthening the fighting spirit and organizational discipline of the Party members and the masses, strengthening unity between them, and effectively pushing forward the new upsurge of the movement of grasping revolution and promoting production. While working beside the machines, they showed concern for world affairs and took the making of every machine and every screw as firing a shell at the enemies. While vigorously carrying out technical innovation, they developed the styles of daring to think and to act, defying fatigue and fighting battles continuously, and tried hard to overcome difficulties. In 1969, they accomplished 23 big and small items of technical innovation, among which the automation in processing an axle housing, which had been designed and made with the cooperation of fraternal workshops, reached advanced levels at home. In making a machine part in aid of fraternal countries, they surmounted difficulties and met with success. Under the

leadership of the Party branch, the broad revolutionary masses went all out, aimed high and accomplished ahead of schedule the tasks of production for 1969.

The violent class struggle cemented the relationship between the Party members and the broad revolutionary masses. The worker comrades said: "In class struggle, the Party members can break through barricades. They are our good example."

Criticizing the "Theory That the Masses Are Backward" and Carrying Out the Mass Line

After launching an open-door rectification, the Party organization accepted a large group of the revolutionary masses "to take part in the conference and in criticism." The Party members greatly strengthened their mass viewpoint. But, the Party branch was not satisfied with the achieved results. From the facts that some Party members did not pay close attention to soliciting opinions from the masses during the Party rectification, it realized that the pernicious influence of the "theory that the masses are backward" had not been totally eliminated. Quoting some concrete examples, they continued to relentlessly criticize Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and to remove the ideological obstacles hindering them from learning things from the masses, and took the implementation of Chairman Mao's teaching, "It is imperative to trust and rely on the masses," as an important aspect of the Party's ideological construction.

The Party branch showed concern for the well-being of the masses and paid attention to its methods of work. While carrying out its work, it discussed problems with the broad revolutionary masses, extensively solicited opinions from the masses, learned things from the masses and acted as pupils to the masses. For this reason, in many branches of work it did, it had a deep mass foundation and won vigorous support from the broad revolutionary masses. The worker comrades said: "The new Party branch is intimate with the masses."

Led and helped by the Party branch, the vast majority of the Party members humbly sought opinions from the broad revolutionary masses and consciously learned things from the masses. They often made use of their holidays and rest hours to visit the masses and to have friendly chats with them, so as to get a clear picture of the ideological trends of the masses, to have a good grasp of the living ideas of the masses, and to accept supervision and help from the broad revolutionary masses. A certain Party member formerly was poisoned by Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory that the masses are backward," and thought that he was superior to the masses, so that he was rude to the masses and was alienated from the masses. This aroused great discontent among the masses. After the Party rectification, he imposed on himself the stern demand of a proletarian advanced element. He made up his mind to learn from the masses and often went on his initiative to call on the masses and to have friendly chats with them. He won warm help from the masses. He paid constantly attention to playing the role of a Party member as an advanced model, and

discussed matters with the masses. The broad revolutionary masses said unanimously: "This comrade has gone through a big change." He also learned an impressive lesson, saying: "The masses look at each step we Party members have paced. If we are correct, the masses will follow us. If we have gone wrong, the masses will point out our mistake."

The Party members of this Party branch also paid attention to finding the enthusiasm among the masses. The Party members of the central tools room heard some comrades say: "An old worker was too harsh about the change of a new tool with an old one. We don't want to approach him." They on the one hand helped this old worker improve his method of work. From the fact that "he was too harsh," they also saw the merit of this old worker in protecting the public property. They learned from this old worker in practice. In making a new tools stall, they did not ask money from the higher level but found materials from the used and discarded materials, thus saving a great deal of roll steel and quaranteeing quality and quantity of this tools stall.

The broad revolutionary masses saw from countless examples that the new Party branch earnestly obeyed Chairman Mao's words and maintained close ties with the masses. They therefore took the attitude of master of the house and continuously put forth opinions on the work done by the Party branch. After the establishment of the Party branch, some workers reported that part of the right of leadership over the production squads was still in the hands of some people who had serious problems. The Party branch realized that this was a very important problem and conscientiously carried out investigations, and mobilized all to discuss the problem in full. Squad leaders were re-elected in accordance with the five requirements for successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat as formulated by Chairman Mao. A revolutionary backbone force was formed. Subsequently, the work of this Party branch progressed continuously under the concern and help of the broad revolutionary masses.

On the other hand, the Party branch applied Mao Tsetung thought to analyze the incomplete or incorrect opinions of the masses. It also educated the masses by explaining the problems to them, thus preventing and resisting the idea that "the work should be done in the way the masses want it to be done." In this way, the Party branch not only learned from the masses, but also led the masses and formed one with the broad revolutionary masses.

Arming the Masses with Mao Tsetung Thought and Overcoming Non-Proletarian Ideas

In doing its work, the Party branch of the tools workshop paid particular attention to using Mao Tsetung thought to arm the Party members and the broad revolutionary masses and overcome the non-proletarian ideas and to closely linking the Party with the masses on the basis of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. They penetratingly carried out the mass movement of the living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought, tightly grasped the word "application," set up study classes and held "discussion and application" meetings. Since its establishment, the new Party branch has called nine "discussion and application" meetings. In view of the reality in

their workshop, they paid particular attention to establishing viewpoints in the following several aspects:

1. The viewpoint of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The tools workshop had been commended many times for its work. On-the-spot meetings were often called there. In this situation, the Party branch paid prompt attention to overcoming the self-conceit and slackening of effort among some comrades, and taught the Party members and the masses to arm themselves with Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and to continuously fight egoism and criticize revisionism and to strengthen their awareness and initiative in continuing the revolution.

The Party branch imposed stern demands on itself. After working for some time, it carried out rectification campaign among the masses and extensively solicited criticisms and opinions from the masses. The Party members also took the lead among the masses to fight egoism and criticize revisionism and guided by exemplary action the masses to overcome the idea that the struggle-criticism-transformation movement is "nearly complete." A certain member of the Party branch committee showed arrogance and complacency after winning honor in work. The Party branch realized that the appearance of this kind of bourgeois "self-interest" was an obstacle to the continued revolution and was the beginning of the standstill. It first conscientiously studied Mao Tsetung thought and actively carried out ideological struggle and then sent this Party branch committee member to disclose his self-interest before the masses and to find his shortcomings. Led by the Party branch, the tools workshop tried to find shortcomings, to sum up experience and to draw new measures each time after it had been commended, and continuously displayed the revolutionary spirit.

They also led the masses in the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death. The five members of the Party branch committee perseveringly participate in labor and seldom work in the office. In early 1969, while leading the masses to participate in labor on the worksite of capital construction for steel refining, two of the branch committee members took off their shoes and socks and went barefooted to break the snow surface and dig soil and to fight in the exceeding cold. They got together with the masses to study the "three constantly-read articles." In dogged perseverance of fearing neither hardship nor death, they surmounted all difficulties and accomplished their tasks. The worker comrades said: "We have confidence in such Party members."

2. The viewpoint of strengthening the Party's leadership. In view of the appearance of some wrong ideas of neglecting the Party's leadership among the masses and the expression of various non-proletarian ideas in the workshop, the new Party branch organized the Party members and the broad revolutionary masses to conscientiously study Chairman Mao's great outline about Party rectification and Party building and the New Party Constitution, and led all to see more clearly the greatness, glory and correctness of the Chinese Communist Party founded and nurtured by great leader Chairman Mao and to relentlessly criticize Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist

fallacy of abolishing the Party's leadership, thus further raising the consciousness of the Party members and the broad revolutionary masses. They said: "Without the Party's leadership, we won't have the happiness we enjoy today; without the Party's leadership, we cannot continue the revolution and make revolution in a thoroughgoing manner."

To strengthen the Party's leadership, it is necessary to act in accordance with Mao Tsetung thought and to conscientiously carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. As soon as Chairman Mao's latest directive was transmitted to them, they propagated it at once and organized all to study it earnestly and to carry it out actively. Meanwhile, the Party branch imposed stern demands on the Party members in accordance with the standard set in the New Party Constitution and taught them to act as Chairman Mao's good fighters and to fully play their role as vanguard and model. In the grinding squad, the political atmosphere formerly was not strong, there were few good personalities and good deeds, effort was seldom made to check undesirable trends, dissension existed among some workers, and the movement of grasping revolution and promoting production lagged behind. Later, the Party branch strengthened its leadership over this squad, and sent a Party member to take charge of it. This Party member acted in accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction, took the lead in creatively studying and applying Mao Tsetung thought, fighting self and criticizing revisionism and combating undesirable trends, and went on his initiative to help the squad leader in meticulously doing ideological and political work among the masses. The whole squad was united on the basis of Mao Tsetung thought, carried out revolution enthusiastically, increased production each day, and quickly became an advanced squad.

3. Viewpoint of the Party's policy. Following Chairman Mao's teaching that "policy and tactics are the life blood of the Party," the Party branch perseveringly armed the masses with the Party's proletarian policies and instilled in them firmly the viewpoint toward the Party's policy and carry it out resolutely and to the letter. A certain member of the former Party branch committee of this workshop committed mistakes at the early stage of the great cultural revolution. After the establishment of the new Party branch, another Party member who had formerly been suppressed by him was elected to the branch committee. Fearing that he might be retaliated upon, he packed his luggage and went home. The masses waited to see how the Party branch would handle this matter. Some of them said that they wanted to see how the branch committee would carry out the policy. The branch committee decided to solve this problem, to distinguish right from wrong and to unite the comrades in accordance with the Party's policy. The newly elected branch committee member wrote to this comrade on his initiative, examining his own incorrect attitude toward him during the movement. The Party branch specially sent two Party members, bringing with them the brilliant documents of the "9th Congress," and walking several hundred li, to come to this comrade's home and to propagate to him Chairman Mao's great call, "Unite to win still greater victories." This comrade returned to the factory and the newly elected branch committee member came to the bus station to carry his luggage. After that, they got together to study Mao Tsetung thought. At a meeting of the whole workshop, they fought self-interest and criticized

strengthening the unity between them, thus cementing their relationship. The comrade who had returned, behaved himself very well in grasping revolution. Seeing this scene, the masses who formerly held a viewpoint of the bourgeois factionalism toward this problem were also touched and said: "The Party branch had done a right thing. It really treats them equally."

The handling of this matter greatly strengthened the concept of the broad revolutionary masses toward the Party's policy. At present, all support whatever is agreeable to the Party's policy and oppose whatever is against the Party's policy. They resolutely handle all problems in accordance with the Party's policy. Under the leadership of the Party branch committee, this workshop conscientiously carried out the Party's policy and liberated the cadres who should be liberated. Some Party members formerly held that the intellectuals were a burden. Later, obeying Chairman Mao's teaching, they helped the intellectuals take the road of integrating themselves with the workers and peasants and display their positive role. In this way, all people who could be united were united.

In November 1969, the Chuchou Vehicles Factory established its new Party committee in accordance with the new Party Constitution. Under the leadership of the Party committee of this factory, the Party branch of the tools workshop perseveringly put the proletarian politics to the fore, armed the Party members further with Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, conscientiously studied "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party" and the Resolution adopted by the Enlarged Meeting of the Military Affairs Commission in 1960, and discussed the relationship between politics and work. Proceeding from class education, the Party members also carried out activities of writing family history and talking about family history, recalling the bitterness in the old society, and exposing and criticizing the crimes of the exploiting class, thus further arousing the proletarian affection of the broad masses and raising the class consciousness of the young workers. Having done this, they carried out four-good movement in depth, implemented the "Constitution of Anshan Iron and Steel Company," set up workers' management groups, and mobilized and relied on the masses to usher in the great 1970's by taking solid action to win new victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

- Investigation Group under Hunan Provincial Revolutionary Committee

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Strengthening Party Concept and Accepting Party Leadership

- a study of the theories of Marxism, Leninism and Mao Tsetung thought on the correlations among the leader, the political party, the political power, the class, and the masses

by

Kung Cheng-yao (龚政耀)

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Chairman Mao teaches us: "The Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy." In this directive, Chairman Mao has incisively elucidated the correlations of the Party with the proletariat and the broad revolutionary masses.

At present, under the brilliant guidance of Chairman Mao's great outline of Party building, the work of Party rectification and Party building is developing. The problem of correct attitude toward the Party and correct handling of application for Party membership has become an extremely important subject for the new cadres and the revolutionary masses.

To closely follow the situation and to correctly solve this problem, we must conscientiously study the theories of Marxism, Leninism and Mao Tsetung thought on the correlations among the leader, the political party, the political power, the class and the masses, strengthen our concept of the Party, consciously accept the Party's leadership, and vow to fight as vanguards in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

1. The Political Party Is a Tool in the Class Struggle

In the 1920's, Lenin summed up the experience of the international communist movement and put forth the theory on the correlations among the leader, the political party, the class and the masses:

1) The masses are divided into classes;

2) The class is usually led by a political party;

3) A political party is usually sponsored by a relatively steady group, and this group is composed of the people who enjoy the highest prestige, have the deepest influence, are the most experienced, are elected to take the most important posts and are called the leaders.

While leading the protracted struggle in the Chinese revolution in the past half of a century, great leader Chairman Mao creatively enriched and developed Lenin's theory on the correlations among the leader, the political party, the class and the masses. Chairman Mao clearly pointed out that the political party is a tool in the class struggle and the highest form of the proletarian organization and that the relationship between the political party and the class is the relationship between a vanguard force and the masses of the class to which it belongs. He also charted the proletarian line of Party building and the proletarian outline of Party building and founded and nurtured the great, glorious, correct Chinese Communist Party.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party--these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy." This is the most valuable and most incisive teaching about the building of a party put forth by Chairman Mao after summing up his experience in the Chinese revolution.

To understand the establishment and role of a political party, we must first understand the meaning of class and class struggle. Class did not exist when the history of mankind began. Class did not exist in the primitive communist society. It came into being when the productive forces developed and after private ownership and exploitation appeared. Lenin pointed out: "Classes are large groups of people which differ from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labor, and, consequently, by the dimensions and mode of acquiring the share of social wealth of which they dispose. Classes are groups of people one of which can appropriate the labor of another owing to the different places they occupy in a definite system of social economy."

In any class society, there are two basic opposite classes, one is the exploiting class and the other is the exploited class, which means the slave-owners and the slaves, the landlords and the peasants, the capitalists and the workers. The bourgeoisie is the last exploiting class in the history of mankind, while the proletariat is its grave-digger.

In a class society, the struggle between the exploiting class and the exploited class cannot be compromised; it is an acute struggle between death and life. To put forth the political outlines and organizational line of a class, to unify action in struggle and to win the struggle, a particular class must have its nucleus organization and leader. This gives rise to a political party and its leader.

In the history of modern class struggle, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie have formed the political parties representative of their own profits in the course of violent class struggle.

To overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie, to seize political power and to consolidate its political power, the proletariat must have its own political party--the Communist Party. This is because the bourgeoisie won't quit the stage of history by itself, and the proletariat must place itself under the leadership of the Communist Party which is armed with Marxism, Leninism and Mao Tsetung thought, so that it may turn from a "class in itself" to be a "class for itself," see its historical mission, form a powerful unified force, and win final victory in the struggle.

To become a fighting headquarters of the proletariat, the Party must have a relatively stable leading core and have its great leader. Otherwise, as Lenin said, "the dictatorship of the proletariat and the 'unification of will' of the proletariat will become empty words."

The Chinese Communist Party was born in the intense fire of class struggle. After the October revolution, Marxism-Leninism was extensively popularized in China and the Chinese workers ascended the political stage, and the Party was an outgrowth of the combination of the workers' movement with Marxism-Leninism. The Chinese Communist Party was constructed under the nurture of great leader Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution, inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism and heightened it to a completely new stage. Marxism, Leninism and Mao Tsetung thought is the theoretical basis guiding the thinking of our Party. All victories of our Party are victories of Mao Tsetung thought.

To consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry the revolution through to the end after seizing political power, the proletariat needs all the more the leadership by its revolutionary political party--the Communist Party. Throughout the historical stage of socialist society, there exist the classes, the class contradictions and the class struggle, there exists the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there exists the danger of restoration of capitalism, and there exists the threat of subversion and invasion by imperialism and modern revisionism. In this protracted, complex and deep-going struggle between the two roads, whether or not the proletariat can win a complete victory is determined by whether there is a communist party which is really armed with Marxism, Leninism and Mao Tsetung thought. With the leadership of such a political party, it will be possible to consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, to prevent the restoration of capitalism, to lead the proletariat and the broad revolutionary masses to carry the socialist revolution through to the end and until the realization of communism in the whole world.

2. The Communist Party Is the Vanguard Force of the Proletariat; the Party Must Perseveringly Uphold the Advanced Nature of the Proletariat

The Communist Party is the vanguard force of the proletariat and the Party organization must be composed of advanced elements of the proletariat. This is needed by the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The proletariat is the greatest class in the history of mankind. The proletarian revolution must aim at thoroughly destroying all exploiting systems and eliminating all exploiting classes and their ideologies. The dictatorship of the proletariat will bring about the realization of a communist society in the whole world. This revolution is greater and involves more arduous and complicated work than any other revolution in history.

To attain such a great revolutionary target, the proletariat must establish a revolutionary political party which is armed with Marxism, Leninism and Mao Tsetung thought and is composed of advanced elements of the proletariat. The Party is powerful because it recruits its advanced elements from among the workers, poor and lower-middle peasants, revolutionary armymen, and revolutionaries in other sectors who firmly take the proletarian stand and swear to fight for communism for the rest of their lives.

Great leader Chairman Mao inherited, defended and developed the Marxist-Leninist principle of Party building. In the question of what kind of a party should be built, and in setting the standard of membership, Chairman Mao waged a protracted and uncompromising struggle against the Right and "Left" opportunist lines in the Party. As soon as the nationwide liberation was achieved, Chairman Mao suggested that "it is necessary to adopt the directive of prudently developing the Party organization; it is necessary to resolutely prevent speculators from entering the Party," "attention must be paid to systematically recruiting workers who have high consciousness into the Party and to expand the proportion of workers in the Party organization." He resolutely criticized the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of building the Party by dragging the rich-peasant and the bourgeois elements and ghosts and demons of various types into the Party as desperately advocated by renegade, traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i. He smashed Liu Shao-ch'i's conspiracy of obliterating the role of the Party as the vanguard force and changing the nature of the Party. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao again put forth the great outline of Party building and pointed out to us the political orientation of building the Party under the dictatorship of the proletariat. As long as we adhere to the fundamental principle, "The Party organization should be composed of advanced elements of the proletariat," we can guarantee the advanced nature and purity and militancy of the Party organization and march forward triumphantly along the road of continued revolution as pointed out by Chairman Mao.

Some people had this utterly wrong opinion: "The period of equality between the Party members and the masses ends with the establishment of the Party's basic organizations." By "being equal," they meant that the Party members and the masses should be entirely "the same" politically. This is incorrect, because throughout the historical period of dictatorship of the proletariat, there exist the differences between the proletariat and other classes, between the advanced elements of the proletariat and the masses of other sectors of the proletariat, between Party members and non-Party members, and these differences will remain before the classes have been eliminated. To distinguish the political party from the class and Party members from non-Party members is for the purpose of perseveringly upholding the advanced nature of the Party and the standard of Party membership, and opposing any erroneous tendencies of lowering the standard of the Party and negating the difference between the Party members and the non-Party members. Meanwhile, it is for the purpose of clarifying the blood-and-flesh relationship between the Party and the class and between the Party members and the masses and making it easier for the Party members to establish the class viewpoint and the mass viewpoint and to play the role of the advanced elements of the proletariat in uniting with and leading the revolutionary masses to continuously fight against the class enemies. This is not particularity. On the contrary, a communist must firmly bear in mind his duty as an advanced element of the proletariat, in order that he can maintain close ties with the masses, trust them and show solicitude for them, serve the people wholeheartedly, appear among the masses in the attitude of a common worker, and withstand all attacks by the bourgeoisie with sugar-coated bullets. "Another obvious mark distinguishing the communists from members of any other political party is that they link themselves most closely with the broadest masses of the people." Any erroneous ideas of thinking oneself superior to other people, cherishing arrogance and conceit and alienating oneself from the masses are pernicious influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory that the masses are backward" and must be defeated without fail.

A new cadre who is not a Party member should consciously heighten his understanding of the correlations among the leader, the political party, the political power, the class and the masses. He should impose demands on himself and make improvement in accordance with the standard of an advanced element of the proletariat, actively strive to join the Party's ranks, and continue to make revolution in a better way. Lu Hsün was not a communist, neither were such heroes as Wang Chieh and Chin Hsün-hua communists before they died. But they used the standard of a communist to guide their deeds. A cadre must adopt a correct attitude toward the problem of entering the Party. He must not cherish the idea that one "who rises early in rebellion, wins merits and serves as a leader" will "certainly be admitted into the Party." He must see clearly that the standard of membership is the "five musts" as specified in the New Party Regulations, and that there is no other standard. If he cannot be admitted into the Party because he is not qualified for the time being, he must consciously, diligently and creatively study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought, work actively and, under the Party's leadership, dedicate his whole share toward consolidating the dictatorship of the

proletariat and, in the course of struggle, continuously raise his political consciousness. In no way should he work passively, be depressed and lower the demand on himself. When he has been admitted into the Party, he should all the more consciously impose demands on himself at all times and in all places in accordance with the standard of a communist. We must not enter the Party organizationally. What is more important, we must enter the Party ideologically and prove ourselves communist vanguard fighters worthy of the name.

3. The Communist Party Is the Highest Form of the Proletarian Organization; the Party Must Exercise Leadership over Everything

"The Party is the vanguard force of the proletariat and the highest form of the proletarian organization. It should exercise leadership over all other organizations, such as the army, the government and the public societies." The Party is related to the state organs of political power and the mass organizations as a leader is related to those who are led by him. If the proletariat does not have the Communist Party to unify all organizations, to put it together under a unified target and to realize the Party's leadership, it is impossible to defeat the enemies and seize political power; it will be impossible to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and to win the final victory of the proletarian revolution.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "We should trust the masses; we should trust the Party. These are two basic principles." We must adhere to these two basic principles at any time.

The great, glorious and correct Chinese Communist Party which is armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought stands higher and is more far-sighted than any other proletarian organization. The Party's history in the past 48 years entirely shows that "the force at the core leading our cause forward is the Chinese Communist Party" and "without the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, no revolution can be successful."

This is clearly specified in the New Party Regulations: "The state organs of power under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the People's Liberation Army, the Communist Youth League, and other revolutionary mass organizations of the workers, the poor and lower-middle peasants and the Red Guards must accept leadership of the Party." This is the basic political principle of our Party and the State. Whether or not we firmly obey and protect the Party's leadership has bearing on the success or failure of the revolution and on whether we can carry the socialist revolution through to the end. We must firmly establish the concept of the Party's leadership, put our relationship with the Party in a right position, closely follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, rally closely around the Party Central Committee with Chairman Mao as the leader and Vice Chairman Lin as the deputy leader, and use Mao Tsetung thought to achieve unification in thinking, policy, planning, command and action.

To reinforce the building of basic-level Party organization is an important link of strengthening the Party's leadership. The struggle between the two lines also exists in the Party in dealing with this problem. The opportunists in the Party went all out to oppose the establishment of Party branches in the companies of the Red Army and totally neglected the construction of the Party's basic-level organizations. Renegade Liu Shao-ch'i advocated that the relationship between the administration of a factory and the Party branch was the "relationship of coordination." He said that "the Party, the Government and the Army can only assist and must not take leadership" in all mass work. He went even to the extent of turning the basic-level Party branches into "clubs." Great leader Chairman Mao has always waged uncompromising struggles against these sinister activities of sabotaging the construction of basic-level Party organization. With a victory won in the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao issued the great call to rectify and build the Party, pointing out the orientation of strengthening leadership over Party organizations at various levels and bringing into better play the leading role of the Party in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Some non-Party comrades said: "With the Party's basic-level organizations set up, we shall be relieved of the load and shall be free." This viewpoint is incorrect. As long as the classes and the class struggle exist, the revolutionary masses should not lay down their revolutionary "load." For this reason, we must thoroughly criticize the "all-people trade union," the "welfare trade union," the "productive trade union" and syndicalism and the revisionist line in the workers' movement. We must rally the broad revolutionary masses under the Party's leadership and continue to struggle against the class enemies in all spheres. In the new situation, we must consciously accept the Party's leadership, withstand new tempering and new tests, march forward bravely on the road of continuing the socialist revolution, and make new contributions toward consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat!

(This article was originally carried in Shanghai Kung-jen Tsao-fan Pao and has been reproduced with some alterations in the title and in wording.)

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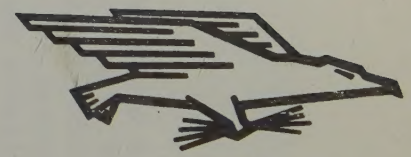

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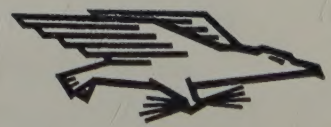

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